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Chemical Weapons Talks Open in Geneva

LD1708201889 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva August 17 TASS—The 12th round of the Soviet-American consultations on the ban on chemical weapons opened in Geneva today. The consultations are held in addition to the multilateral talks at the conference on disarmament on the drafting of a convention on this.

The Soviet delegation is headed by USSR representative to the conference on disarmament Sergey Batsanov. The U.S. delegation is headed by U.S. representative at the conference on disarmament, Ambassador Max Friedersdorf.

Goals of Talks Outlined

LD1808014389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1807 GMT 17 Aug 89

["Geneva - Chemical Weapons From Geneva, Version 1"—TASS headline]

[Text] Geneva, 17 Aug (TASS)—Today the 12th round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons opened here. They are being held in addition to the multilateral negotiations at the disarmament conference; these negotiations plan to draft a global convention on this matter.

In the course of the current round, completing preparation for handing over joint proposals for multilateral negotiations in areas where the USSR and U.S. positions are close will continue. Procedures for inspections on request [proverki po zaprosu] and on the destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons and production sites are envisioned.

S.B. Batsanov, head of the Soviet delegation, remarked, "The USSR delegation intends to strive for accords on a whole range of as yet unresolved issues."

Outcome of Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Assessed

PM1708143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov dispatch: "Unraveling the Knots. Outcome of the Round of Soviet-U.S. Talks on Nuclear and Space Arms"]

[Text] Geneva, Aug—So the latest, 11th, round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms ended on the first Monday in August. In what way did it differ from the preceding ones? Has the Geneva dialogue acquired any qualitatively new aspects?

These are substantial questions, bearing in mind the importance of the talks and the fact that the problem of a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. arsenals of strategic offensive arms remains on top of the agenda of relations between the two states.

Let us begin with the fact that the previous round was held literally hot on the heels of the Moscow summit meeting and under the influence of the direct and powerful impetus imparted by the meeting. The latest round was preceded by a 7-month break which gave rise to quite a few contradictory forecasts.

"What was the meaning of this break?" I asked USSR delegation head Yu. Nazarkin.

"As far as our side is concerned, it did not need any 'enforced break,'" he replied. "We would have been able to prepare for resumption of the talks much earlier. It is, however, well known that it takes two to tango, and the partner's interests cannot be brushed aside. Moreover, one can understand the Americans: There was a change of administration in the country. But when the dialogue was resumed, it became clear from the very beginning that it was being conducted on the basis of continuity. The U.S. delegation did not budge from a single one of the proposals already set down [zafiksirovannyye], although it hinted that some points could be 'reviewed.' But this, I repeat, did not happen..."

But let us turn back to the last day of the round, when the delegations exchanged revised texts of the documents being elaborated at the talks. What attracted attention? There were more agreed formulations, and the pages of the future document contained fewer of the square brackets which diplomats and experts use to enclose provisions awaiting agreement.

At the same time, the final press conferences made it clear: There was only limited progress, and not along the entire front of problems. The formulations agreed by the delegations are associated primarily with verification questions, and specifically with the inspections protocol. Of course, identical understanding of various terms and clarification of technical details and procedures are also necessary. Unfortunately, however, none of this touched on the main questions awaiting agreement.

There were no amendments to the texts of the draft agreements on space. The sides' actual approaches here remain too far apart for progress to have been possible. The U.S. stance is still based on the possibility of deploying an anti-ballistic missile [ABM] defenses (including space-based defenses) in accordance with the SDI program. We, on the other hand, are seeking to ensure observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. Logic is obviously on our side, since strategic defensive and offensive arms are objectively interlinked. The Soviet side's viewpoint is this: The conclusion of a treaty on 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive arms is possible only in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty.

To continue the list of important but still unraveled knots, it is necessary to mention sea-launched cruise missiles [SLCM's]. It is neither whim nor stubbornness, but loyalty

to the Washington accord that forces us to seek the establishment of maximum quantities of such missiles under effective verification. But the U.S. delegation wishes to go no further than the sides merely informing one another of plans concerning nuclear SLCM's. There is not even a mention of verification. So where, one wonders, is U.S. diplomacy's old vaunted desire for the most rigid verification of everything and anything?

The Soviet side does not proceed on the basis of abstract wishes when raising the problem of SLCM verification. It proposed an entire chain of monitoring measures in Geneva, and makes no secret of this.

What does this chain look like? Its first link is the plant observation post which verifies [kontroliruyushchiy] the number of missiles manufactured. The finished products carry special marks which cannot be forged and can be read only by special instruments. The second link: Special posts along the route to ships verify whether the missile in question is fitted with a nuclear or a conventional charge. The third link: The siting of SLCM's under proper verification is limited only to agreed classes of submarines and surface ships.

This chain prompted an objection. Is it possible at all, our partners-cum-opponents declared, to have unrestricted visits to warships?

That was when Soviet experts proposed to use the method of remote verification, which makes it possible to reduce the need for on-site inspections. Since official Washington refused to conduct an experiment, it was carried out at nongovernmental level by staffers of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Natural Resources Council of America on the Black Sea missile cruiser "Slava." Scientists from the two countries unanimously concluded that the methods used in the experiment offer real prospects for the development [sozdaniye] of instruments for the remote verification of nuclear weapons at sea.

What else distinguishes the last round? Speaking of its positive aspects, it is necessary to mention the higher degree of glasnost. The talks, once held behind a veil of absolute secrecy, are becoming increasingly accessible to the broad public. Naturally, there is quite a rigid framework here—the very topic of the dialogue is all too important for both states' security. But the speeches by Soviet and U.S. delegation heads at the Disarmament Conference, for example, enabled their colleagues from many nuclear and non-nuclear countries to get to know each side's concept individually and to compare their strong and weak points.

The attention of journalists covering the Geneva talks was also attracted by the following point. Even though Ambassador Burt is head of the U.S. delegation, his colleague Cooper, who is in charge of space arms problems, is doing his utmost to show that he is heading almost a "separate, independent" delegation. The point here is obviously not so much a matter of Cooper's personal ambitions but of the desire by certain U.S. circles to separate nuclear disarmament from the interests of ensuring the demilitarization of space.

And one more point, which developed in the course of an exchange of opinions with Western diplomats and journalists. General European thinking—both state and public—now focuses attention on the possibility of a further improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, and primarily on a successful outcome of the talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. This idea also meets with a growing response in U.S. public opinion. Let us believe that hopes will be justified. Including at the next round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, due to begin in Geneva in early fall.

UN Statement on Lebanon Termed 'Positive'

LD1708125689 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—"The August 16 statement on Lebanon, made by the U.N. Security Council president, is in line with the international efforts towards an early termination of the bloodshed, stabilisation of the situation and bringing peace to that country," says a statement of the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, which was read out at a briefing, held at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Press Centre today, by Vladimir Polyakov, head of the Middle East and North Africa Department.

"This is a positive step", the statement says. "The world community's assistance to the Arab countries in their efforts to relieve the Lebanese crisis will undoubtedly help gear this problem to a search for a real and durable settlement. It is to be hoped that the Security Council's support for the mission of the Arab League's Committee of Three, its call upon all the states and sides to give assistance to the committee's activities will lend a fresh impetus to the efforts to solve the Lebanese crisis as soon as possible."

"The incoming information shows that the Security Council's call finds a positive response with the conflicting Lebanese groups, the members of the Committee of Three and the Arab world as a whole".

Gremitskikh Conducts 17 Aug News Briefing

Somali Guest's Meeting With Yazov Noted

LD1708135289 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—A military delegation from Somalia led by Maslah Mohamed Siad, chief of the General Staff of the Somali Armed Forces, ended a visit to Moscow on Wednesday [16 August].

The delegation visited the Soviet Union at the request of the Somali president and within the framework of improving Soviet-Somali relations, including relations between the two countries' military services, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing today.

Brigadier-General Maslah Mohamed Siad was received by the Soviet defence minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, and delegation members had meetings and talks at the Soviet general staff.

"As planned, the sides did not sign any bilateral documents," Gremitskikh noted.

'Selfish' Afghan Jihad Viewed

LD1708140489 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—Although Western mass media continue to call members of the Afghan opposition Islamic parties "modjahedds", or "fighters for faith", one can hear more and more often that they are not willing to fight against the Afghan Government. Instead of it they are steeped in internecine squabbles, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

Jihad in Afghanistan, which has long been called in that country the dollar jihad, is steadily turning into a cover-up for brutal terrorism which is the result of the inability of those so-called "fighters for faith" to win an armed struggle against the Afghan army, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out. Regular shelling of Afghan cities, primarily Kabul, threatens the lives both of the Afghan people and staff members of diplomatic missions and offices of international organisations in Kabul. The vulnerability of the stand of those who supply missiles and mines used against the peaceful population of Afghan cities is getting more and more obvious. This war is not only a war between the Afghans, Gremitskikh continued. It is an open secret that foreign mercenaries, spies and saboteurs are participating ever more actively in the unsuccessful combat operations of the extremists against the Afghan armed forces. Those people came to Afghanistan in order to earn dollars under the guise of jihad. Pakistan continues to be the most active participant in the invasion of Afghanistan. The so-called jihad in Afghanistan, if combat operations of the extremists could be described like that at any time during the past 11 years, is nothing but a screen which cannot conceal terrorism, the struggle for power and selfish interests of the extremists and foreign mercenaries.

TASS Reports Briefing

LD1708174689 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—"The statement of the U.N. Security Council president on Lebanon, made on August 16, is in line with the international efforts toward an early termination of the bloodshed, stabilisation of the situation and bringing peace to that country," says a statement of the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman that Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Middle East and North Africa Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, read out at a briefing here today.

Dwelling on the theme of Lebanon he said that the Soviet-French consultations connected with the crisis situation in Lebanon were held in Moscow. Taking part in the consultation were Jacques Andreani, special representative of the French president and director of the French Foreign Minister's Office, and First USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

During the consultations the sides had an in-depth discussion of possible ways of settling the Lebanese crisis in line with a joint statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand of July 6, 1989. The Soviet diplomats said that the sides had reached an understanding to continue consultations on the Lebanese situation and to make them more regular.

Commenting on the statement of the tripartite committee of the Arab League of July 31, 1989, Polyakov noted the concern of the Soviet side over the fact that the committee had not been able to use fully the powers given to it by the extraordinary conference of Arab heads of state and government in Casablanca. "We believe the statement of the U.S. Security Council president of August 16 will give an additional impetus to the efforts of the tripartite committee".

Asked about the relations between the USSR and Syria in connection with the situation in Lebanon, Polyakov said that "Syria is an independent sovereign state which makes decisions on its foreign policy course."

Touching upon the situation in Afghanistan, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said that the so-called Jihad in Afghanistan is nothing but a screen which cannot conceal terrorism, the struggle for power and selfish interests of the extremists and foreign mercenaries.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that Eduard Saouma, director-general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), is now staying in Moscow as guest of the Soviet Government. This morning Eduard Saouma was received by Nikolay Slyunkov, a Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Earlier Saouma had conversations with a number of members of the government and scientists. Questions of the Soviet Union's cooperation with FAO and of the restoration of the USSR's membership in FAO were discussed.

Asked about the Soviet Union's attitude to the process of the formation of a new government in Poland Gremitskikh said that this is a domestic Polish matter. "One would like to hope that the political forces represented in the national assembly of the Polish People's Republic will find such a form of solving the question of the new government as would meet the interests of the Polish people", the spokesman said.

Slyunkov Receives UN Food, Agriculture Director

LD1708132689 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—Edouard Saouma, director general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), currently on a visit in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government, was received today by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Polituburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The sides discussed questions of the Soviet Union's cooperation with this international organisation.

United States & Canada

Bush Said To Consider Moves To 'Capture' Noriega

PM1808083389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "New Threats to Noriega"]

[Text] Washington, 16 Aug—U.S. President G. Bush did not exclude the possibility of mounting an operation to capture General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panamanian National Defense Forces, and send him to the United States, where he is danger of standing trial on charges of participating in international drug trafficking. "I must promote the administration of justice," Bush said Tuesday [15 August] at a press conference in the White House.

U.S. 'Deaf' to 'Voice of Reason' on Afghanistan

LD1608211189 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Isn't the United States, a guarantor of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, getting involved in the armed conflict directly? This question worries many Americans. The policy pursued by the White House, with its banking on the endeavors to overthrow the Kabul regime at the hands of the rebels, gives rise to mounting criticism and apprehension. Even those who until recently backed the Administration in its attitude to the Afghan problem without reservation are beginning to see light. It appears that the Kabul government is not as weak as Washington officials imagined half a year ago, that it is capable of defending itself on its own in the absence of Soviet troops.

Greater military aid from the United States, the participation of mercenaries recruited by Saudi Arabia in fighting on their side, and even the participation of Pakistani regulars failed to prevent the rebels from sustaining crushing defeats. Moreover, squabbling between opposition leaders, their insatiable quest for power, and willingness to kill rivals in their own camp, have proved that Washington is banking on common terrorists.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the number of congressmen who openly demand that the administration stop its military aid to the Afghan opposition and seek a political settlement is growing. United States arms supplies to the Afghan rebels no longer serve U.S. national interests, said the Chairman of the House Committeee on Intelligence Anthony Beilenson; now that the Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, the U.S. should also leave that country before its foreign policy successes—Beilenson means the withdrawal of Soviet troops—turns into catastrophe.

In early August, Soviet-American consultations on the Afghan problem took place in Stockholm. The Soviet representative again called for stopping arms supplies to the warring sides on the basis of reciprocity. The Americans rejected that proposal once again. Moreover the State Department announced that Washington's policy toward Afghanistan remained unchanged. Will the Administration persist in being deaf to the voice of reason? To warnings sounded in Washington?

Primakov Receives U.S. Congressmen in Kremlin

LD1708131589 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—A group of members of the House Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress, which has completed its tour of the USSR, including visits to several major Soviet strategic objectives, had a meeting in the Kremlin today with Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Sharing his impressions of the unprecedented trip, as he qualified it, Les Aspin, chairman of the committee, noted the openness and usefulness of such contacts, stressed that the American side would see to it that the reply visit to the United States of Soviet colleagues from the Supreme Soviet Defence and State Security Committee would be equally informative and comprehensive.

Informing the congressmen about the Supreme Soviet's activities, Yevgeniy Primakov dwelt on the concrete steps it has taken, confirming the Soviet Supreme legislative organ's adherence to the idea of ensuring the country's security within the limits of reasonable sufficiency. In his opinion, questions of budget defence allocations should be discussed in keeping with this conception at the forthcoming autumn session of the Soviet parliament.

Suggestions were made on the further promotion of cooperation between Soviet and American legislators. Discussed constructively was the possibility of setting up a joint Soviet-American committee to deal with concrete problems of armaments control. The sides spoke also of the desirability of the two parliaments' interaction in establishing the fate and setting free Soviet citizens reported missing or captured in Afghanistan, and Americans in North Korea, Vietnam and Laos.

U.S. Defense of Iranian Airliner Downing Decried

LD1608213689 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The American Administration has given its consent to take part in the examination by the International Court of Justice [ICJ] in the Hague of a lawsuit filed in connection with the crash of an Iranian airliner. [passage omitted] Aleksandr Pogodin gives these details:

Though agreeing to examine the case at the international court, the American authorities again declare, as they did shortly after the dramatic incident, that no violation of the intenational law took place, and that the plane was shot down not deliberately but by mistake. [passage omitted]

Soon after the tragic incident attempts were made in the United States to draw a parallel with the crash of the South Korean airliner shot down by the Soviet Air Force in 1983. But the South Korean airliner crossed into the Soviet Union's territory with provocative aims and, despite warnings, was flying over it for some time. [passage omitted] As for the American Air Force, the American vessel that cruised many thousands miles away from the United States shot down the plane that was making a regular flight and flew over its usual course. So the difference between the real act of self-defense and the desire to protect the country's border and the deliberate crime is obvious.

Though the Washington administration tries to assure the public that it bears neither material nor moral responsibility for the crash of the Iranian plane, it still tried to hush up the incident by promising to pay small compensations to the families of the killed. But that did not help. Now the administration has had to agree to the examination of the incident at the International Court of Justice.

U.S. Business Interest in Moscow Trade Fair 'High'

LD1608105189 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—"The climate of Soviet-American trade is changing for the better. This is borne out by the unusually high interest of U.S. businessmen in the 'USA-89' exhibition to be held in Moscow shortly," it was pointed out today in a TASS interview by Boris Alekseyev, senior vice-president of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council (USTEC).

The first U.S. national commerce exhibition in the USSR will be held on decision of the council's twelfth annual meeting with the active assistance of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. More than six hundred representatives of 120 U.S. companies are expected to take part in it. They include such giants of the business world as the "General Motors", "IBM", "Philip Morris" and "General Electric", as well as delegations of several American states. Broadly represented also will be small- and medium-size companies of the United States, which had so far hesitated somewhat to do business in the Soviet market.

Some eleven hundred rooms have already been booked for the second half of October, when the exhibition is to be held. Preparations have been started in Moscow's biggest exhibition complex in Krasnaya Presnya, where exhibits will be displayed, reflecting a wide range of opportunities for business cooperation with the United States, starting with the food industry, consumer goods production, tourism and ending with electronic computers and means of automation. It is indicative that most businessmen are coming to the USSR not in search of one-time, even if advantageous deals, but to promote long-term business partnership.

Soviet organisations, enterprises and cooperatives also show great interest in the display. Some enterprises intend to dispatch as many as 100 and even more of their specialists to the exhibition. All this, in the opinion of the USTEC representative, shows that the business circles of both countries are prepared to go over to large-scale business cooperation.

U.S. Plans Tests of Stingray Laser System

PM1708133789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Pentagon's Secret Preparations"]

[Text] This fall the Pentagon intends to start testing the new Stingray laser weapon designed to disable enemy optical systems and targets. At the same time, the newspaper DEFENSE NEWS reports that Stingray can be used to blind people. Citing the secret nature of the project, an official Department of the Army spokesman refused to comment on the report. However, a Pentagon staffer admitted in an interview with the newspaper that a Stingray beam would do enormous damage if it entered someone's eye. According to DEFENSE NEWS, each Stingray-system laser will cost between $500,000 and $1 million. The lasers will be mounted on infantry fighting vehicles.

Canadian Pilot Flies MiG-29; Soviet Flies 'Phantom'

PM1708140589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Telephone dispatch by V. Novikov, deputy chief designer at the A.I. Mikoyan Experimental Design Bureau, and special correspondent Colonel A. Andryushkov: "We Share the Same Sky. Soviet Pilot Flies 'Phantom,' Canadian Flies MiG-29"]

[Excerpts] Vancouver, 14 Aug—This morning it was cloudy in Vancouver. But the clouds slipping down from the mountains to the valley could not spoil the international air festival. [passage omitted]

An agreement was reached in Vancouver on reciprocal flights in U.S. and USSR military aircraft. This is a thorny path and there is no need to describe the obstacles the Canadian Air Force command had to overcome before permission came for Canadian Air Force Major Bob Bade [surname as transliterated] to fly the MiG-29 UB aircraft. The Soviet delegation did not withdraw its proposal for the Canadian pilot's flight even when the U.S. and Canadian Air Force commands could not come to a positive decision about the flight of a Soviet pilot in F-18 and F-16 aircraft.

So the concluding flight at the air festival that day was the joint flight of Hero of the Soviet Union Valeriy Menitskiy, head pilot from the A.I. Mikoyan Experimental Design Bureau, and Canadian Air Force Major Bob Bade. [passage omitted]

On the same day a Soviet test pilot from the Mikoyan Experimental Design Bureau, R. Taskayev, found himself in a U.S. Air Force F-4 "Phantom" Fighter. He accepted the offer of a joint flight from U.S. Air Force pilots. The flight took place. Roman said that the F-4 aircraft was too well known throughout the world for him to give an assessment of it. It is of course outdated in its specifications, but the skill of U.S. Air Force pilot Captain Bill Yorgens [surname as transliterated] was admirable. [passage omitted]

China

PLA Anniversary Reception Held at PRC Embassy

PM1808083189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric: "Official Information"]

[Text] On 1 August Major General Ning Wenyan, military attache at the PRC Embassy to the USSR, held a reception on the occasion of the 62d anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, Colonel General S.A. Dikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces, and also military attaches at foreign embassies in the Soviet Union attended the reception.

Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the USSR, was present.

China Women's Delegation Arrives in Moscow

OW1808062189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] A delegation of the All-China Women's Federation led by its president, Chen Muhua, arrived in the Soviet Union on 17 August. This is Comrade Chen Muhua's first official visit to the Soviet Union. During the visit, the members of the Chinese delegation will familiarize themselves with the life of Soviet women and the role played by Soviet women in current social reform.

Chen Muhua said at Sheremetyevo Airport in Moscow: The promotion of contacts between Chinese and Soviet women is tantamount to developing friendship between the peoples of the two countries. I am convinced that our visit will enable us to take another step forward in promoting friendship and mutual understanding.

The delegation was met at the airport by (Tzizonova), first deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women, and by Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Yu Hongliang.

Northeast Asia

Kalinin Condemns Military Exercise in Pacific

OW1708231389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Military observer Kalinin commentary]

[Text] As has been reported, a large-scale military exercise codenamed Pafex '89 [as heard] will be held in the Pacific in the second half of this month, with the participation of the United States, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Japan. In this connection, Radio Moscow military observer Kalinin writes as follows:

What is most noteworthy is the unprecedented large scale of this military exercise, which will be the largest demonstration of military force in the Pacific since the end of World War II. From the United States alone, four carriers among the six aircraft carriers belonging to the 3d and 7th U.S. Fleets, other large warships, over 500 aircraft, including B-52 strategic bombers, and quite a large number of personnel will be mobilized. In addition, forces will be mobilized from other nations. Since the deployment of such a large force is almost tantamount to an actual combat situation, people cannot but heighten their caution.

What we would like to point out is that one of the tasks of this exercise, according to KYODO NEWS AGENCY, is operational training with the Soviet Union as the target. Concerning this, SANKEI SHIMBUN carried a report last fall, saying that in the course of the military exercise Pafex, the training is planned to be an opeation to secure naval supremacy in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan so as to blockade the Kamchatka Peninsula, to occupy the Kurile Islands, and to limit the potential of the Soviet Pacific Fleet.

According to the scenario for Pafex'89, the 25th U.S. Infantry Division will be deployed to Hokkaido from the Hawaiian Islands, and the 3d Marine Division will be mobilized from Okinawa. Attention should be devoted to the fact that these divisions are expected to engage in joint operations training with the Japanese ground forces. The Japanese archipelago, which is located closest to the Soviet territory, has been selected as the stage for conducting this exercise, which indicates clearly where the exercise's objective lies. That the Soviet Union has been selected as the imaginary enemy has at least caused puzzlement. It is beyond any doubt that all this has been picked from the venerable warehouse of the cold war years.

However, times have changed. For example, a U.S. fleet has paid an official visit to Sevastopol Port, the major base of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet. Vice Admiral (Gilder), deputy commander-in-chief of the U.S. Naval Forces, who used to be in command of this fleet, admitted that American sailors had come to realize that Russians are friendly and capable of giving hospitable treatment to their guests. It is inconceivable that the Russians living on the coast of the Black Sea are fundamentally different from the Russians living in the Soviet Far East. On the contrary, it is said in the Soviet Union that the people in the Far East are regarded as more hospitable. As one who has the experience of living in the Soviet Far East before, I can endorse this observation.

In addition to what has been stated, I would like to point out that the Soviet policy in the Far East is established on the basis of the principles of peace and good-neighborliness. The Soviet Union has made various proposals for downgrading the level of the military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region during the past few years. A unilateral and large-scale reduction of the Soviet troops in the Far East has been carried out and military positiveness of the Soviet naval force in the Pacific has been significantly reduced.

Foreigners can now visit the port of Vladivostok, the major base of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, and observers from a number of nations and many foreign journalists, particularly a large delegation of Japanese reporters, observed the exercise of the Soviet Pacific Fleet conducted last month.

When all these facts are taken into consideration, it is apparently a provocative action to conduct the large-scale military exercise, Pafex'89, in which the Soviet Union is viewed as the imaginary enemy. Such an act will merely arouse tension in the Far East and the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, and intensify political and military confrontation.

As pointed out recently by Koichiro Ueda, a member of the House of Councillors elected from the Japanese Communist Party, Japan's participation in this military exercise signifies that Japan has been drawn more and more deeply into the military strategic policy of the United States. In a question presented to the government on 10 August, Councillor Koichiro Ueda requested that Japan should not participate in Pafex'89.

Japanese Foreign Minister on USSR Ties

LD1808084689 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo August 18 TASS—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama has favoured the development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

"We should be fully aware that serious changes are now under way and this led to an improvement in the American-Soviet relations," he said in an interview with the newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN, published today.

"I hope that Japanese-Soviet relations will also develop, which was inconceivable before," he said. Noting that the Soviet Union advocates broader cooperation with Japan, Nakayama said that the Japanese side "would like to conduct a dialogue with the USSR at different levels".

The Japanese foreign minister meanwhile said that the Government of Japan does not intend to go back to its previous stand on the so-called territorial issue, though he was compelled to admit that the campaign of territorial claims to the USSR has not acquired a nationwide character, despite the official circles' efforts.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ulterior Motive for Singapore Bases Offer Viewed

BK1708144989 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Military observer Viktor Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] Admiral Huntington Hardisty, commander of the U.S. Pacific and Indian Ocean Command, recently visited Singapore. Admiral Hardisty, who was appointed to his current post almost 1 year ago, visited the ASEAN countries for a familiarization visit. The same pretext was used when he visited Singapore. However, it was natural for him to link his visit and Singapore's offer to host U.S. military facilities.

Understandably, the news about Singapore's decision brought vigorous reactions from Singapore's ASEAN partners, which see the proposal as a violation against several basic ASEAN agreements that require ASEAN members to remove foreign bases in the region. These countries are also required to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, cooperation, and neutrality, free from nuclear weapons. This fact was stressed by Malaysian Foreign Minister Abu Hassan Omar at a recent press conference.

Singapore's ASEAN partners correctly pointed out that the Singapore Government must first consult with them as Singapore's decision will affect the security of the whole region because even the possible deployment of one or two squadrons of U.S. Air Force F-16's and the construction of piers for U.S. Navy warships will in fact turn Singapore into another U.S military base and may escalate tension in the region.

The excuses put forward by the Singapore press to the effect that their government's statements on this issue are not something special appear unconvincing. In addition, 1 ½ months before Admiral Hardisty's visit, a Pentagon site survey team visited Singapore to study the possibility of using the country's facilities for the U.S. Navy and Air Force.

What was interesting was the reason Singapore gave for deciding to take the offer. Singapore said it wanted to support the Philippines, which has thus far borne the political burden of hosting bases alone, and to contribute to the maintenance of the U.S. military presence in the region.

The U.S. press has also attached great importance to this aspect. However, behind such statements, the United States has clearly exercised its pressure on Manila on the eve of the U.S.-Philippine talks on the future of the bases, scheduled for December. Meanwhile, as the U.S. Ambassador in Manila, Nicholas Platt pointed out, Washington even rules out the possibility of closing its bases in the Philippines. The ambassador also disclosed that expansion work is underway at Clark Air Base.

At the same time, the so-called Singapore initiative has given Washington an opportunity to show Manila another example of the so-called benefit of the U.S. military presence in the region. In addition, if Washington can reach an agreement with Singapore on this matter, the Pentagon will substantially strengthen its position in Southeast Asia. Isn't this the ultimate goal that all of their actions are leading to?

Philippines' Manglapus on U.S. Bases Accord

HK1708051589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Secretary Raul Manglapus of the Philippines' Foreign Affairs Department says that his country is scheduled to review the agreement covering the American military bases in the Philippines. It is common knowledge that the agreement is due to expire in 1991. Earlier President Corazon Aquino had said that her government is ready to talk with the Americans on this in December this year. Reports say the Philippines will be asking for higher rentals for the areas where the Americans have their military bases, which include Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base.

Rogachev Supports Cambodian Reconciliation Council

BK1708014189 Bangkok THE NATION in English 17 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] A senior Soviet official supports Vietnam's proposal for the four rival Cambodian factions to set up a national reconciliation council as part of a comprehensive political settlement of their conflicts instead of forming a provisional government to rule the country, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Pratyathawi Tawethikun, deputy spokesman at the Foreign Ministry, said Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, made the point during his meeting with a visiting Thai delegation comprising students of the National Defence Council special course in Moscow. The delegation including prominent business and banking executives was led by Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs M.R. Kasemsamoson Kasemsi.

The resistance Cambodian coalition and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations want an interim government comprising all three resistance factions and the Phnom Penh regime during the fragile transition leading to a general election following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. Phnom Penh and its supporters, however, refused to dismantle the administration to make way for the provisional government and has counter-proposed the national reconciliation council to carry out the preparations for the national polls.

Pratyathawi said Rogachev also called for another "roundtable meeting" of top leaders from the rival Cambodian forces to thrash out the remaining differences on national reconciliation.

The Soviet official contends that the past roundtable discussions failed to work because the participants were low-ranking representatives of the Cambodian forces.

Rogachev also said Moscow supported Thailand's proposal for an international control mechanism to monitor the Vietnamese military pullout, scheduled to be accomplished by September 26, and would contribute to its establishment at the ongoing Paris International Conference on the Cambodian dispute.

The Thai delegation urged that the Soviet Union help make the Paris conference a success by softening the tough stands taken by Vietnam and Phnom Penh.

Rogachev was also told that the attitude of Hanoi and Phnom Penh against the Khmer Rouge's participation in national reconciliation is posing the major obstacle to a comprehensive political settlement.

The Soviet minister lauded the Thai policy seeking an early breakthrough on the Cambodian problem and pledged to extend full cooperation with Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila for the success of the Paris talks, Pratyathawi said.

Rogachev also informed the Thai delegation that Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov was making preparations to return an official visit to Thailand in January. Former premier Gen Prem Tinsulanon visited Moscow a few years ago.

Hun Sen Attitude 'Reasonable'

BK1808090889 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] As everyone knows, in accordance with the decision of the Paris international conference on Cambodia, the United Nations sent a special mission to study the situation in Cambodia. This mission—which included 15 military observers from Australia, India, Indonesia, Canada, Malaysia, and France and was led by Norwegian Lieutenant General Martin Vadset—has now completed its work in Phnom Penh.

The government of the State of Cambodia accorded them all the facilities and cooperation needed to understand the internal situation of the country, to visit different provinces, and to directly inspect routes, ports, airfields, postal and communications networks, industrial enterprises, and organizations in charge of municipal affairs. Participants in the mission also went to the Cambodian-Thai border region where some armed clashes between the warring parties were still raging.

As already announced, this mission was necessary for the future formation of an international control mechanism. According to some speculation, this mechanism shall be charged with monitoring the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the cease-fire, and the general elections to elect the parliament. All the recommendations made by the mission will be soon forwarded to the three committees meeting in Paris which are now preparing proposals for the final phase of the international conference at the foreign ministers' level.

Observers frequently ask this question: How will the Paris conference conclude, and will it radically contribute to a solution to the Cambodian problem?

This principal question once again reflects the other aspects of the conflict as parties concerned study their positions in detail, keeping a close watch on their own interests. Most people believe that the international aspect of the Cambodian problem so far has proven to be easier to solve than the internal aspect. The bone of contention deals with the concessions made among the Cambodian parties concerned.

Observers analyzed Sihanouk's demands and saw that they were full of weaknesses which might cause a complete stalemate in the talks. It is true that Cambodia needs peace, but peace will arrive sooner if all parties involved in the conflict are prepared to be more judicious, if they become less ambitious and more realistic in their activities.

There are many unclear points concerning the 1 million Vietnamese settlers allegedly living in Cambodia. Sihanouk has categorically demanded that these settlers be repatriated as soon as possible. We should say that Vietnamese nationals, like the Chinese and the Cham [a Muslim minority from ancient Champa State], have always been an ethnic group in Cambodia. Many of them during Pol Pot's time fled to Vietnam and have now returned to their hometown. How can one separate those who have immigrated to Cambodia since 1978 from these oldtime settlers? It was proposed that this could be solved with a population census, but no one knows when this would be implemented.

As for Comrade Hun Sen's attitude, it was more reasonable and sensitive than people first thought. At first, it was believed that he was categorically opposed to any concession to the Pol Pot group that would allow it to share political and military power. In reality, this was true only as far as Pol Pot and his close lieutenants were concerned. However, regarding the Khmer Rouge in its capacity as a force to be reckoned with—and it really was all about the Khmer Rouge—the matter was totally different. Comrade Hun Sen did not reject the Khmer Rouge's participation in various organizations of a provisional authority to be set up in Cambodia after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and after the establishment of a cease-fire. The duty of this quadripartite authority is to organize and hold a general election. Only afterwards, based on the outcome of the election, could a coalition government be formed in accordance with the expressed will of the people.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian President Cited on U.S., Hostages Issue

LD1708213689 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] London August 18 TASS—Iran's new president 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said on Thursday that he would help release Western hostages in Lebanon only if Washington showed it was no longer hostile to Tehran, REUTER news agency reported.

It said Rafsanjani had made the statement at a meeting with Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan.

Afghan Defense Minister Warns Aggressors

LD1808092789 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 18 TASS—"It is very symbolic that the Afghan people will celebrate their army day simultaneously with the 70th anniversary of the restoration of the country's independence", it was stated by Colonel-General Shahnawaz Tanai, defence minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Exactly seventy years ago, he said, British colonialism was taught a stern lesson. However, as seven decades ago, the Afghan people are today waging a just struggle against forces of imperialism and reaction for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Rallying in their ranks the country's finest sons, the heroic armed forces, which are themselves rebuffing foreign armed aggression, are in the vanguard of this struggle.

The Afghan army, which has in recent years accumulated a wealth of experience of combating enemies of the people's power, has substantially increased its combat capacity, mobility and firing power. Today it has at its disposal the most up-to-date armaments, including a powerful artillery, missiles and armour. The victories, achieved over formations of the irreconcilable opposition at Jalalabad, Qandahar, Herat, Qalat and Khost, testify to the enhanced professional skill of Afghan servicemen and increased combat capacity of the Afghan armed forces in general.

Today, when the destiny of our homeland is being decided on battlefields, its loyal bulwark—the armed forces—are constantly on the alert. They are prepared to deal a crushing blow at anyone who encroaches upon the independence of our sovereign state", the minister noted.

News Analyst Comments on Afghan Independence
LD1808032889 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

The people of Afghanistan observe the 70th anniversary of the country's independence in a complex situation when the interference in Afghanistan's affairs is increasing. Just as 70 years ago, true Afghan patriots are now upholding the country's sovereignty and independence, arms in hands, are pressing for an early restoration of peace and tranquility in Afghanistan on the basis of national reconciliation. Just as 70 years ago, Afghanistan is supported by its friend and neighbour, the Soviet Union, that was at the origins of Afghanistan's independence.

Adversaries of independent Afghanistan predicted that the Kabul regime will promptly fall when the last Soviet soldier leaves Afghanistan in keeping with the Geneva Accords. These predictions proved wrong. Despite fierce attacks by adversaries of the regime, large aid to rebels by the USA, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, despite the fact that rebels are backed in the fighting by Pakistan military units and mercenaries from a number of Arab countries, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan proved its staunchness. Its prestige in Afghanistan and abroad increased. Kabul's call for national reconciliation and consolidation attracts various sections of Afghan society. More and more of yesterday's adversaries realise the pointlessness of further bloodletting and stop fighting.

Plans of irreconcilable opposition to seize power suffer a fiasco. The local population, tired of fratricidal war, brutalities of rebels deny support to leaders of the opposition whom ordinary people increasingly associate with interests of foreign states. Internecine strife between different groups of the opposition becomes more acute and quite often leads to massacres, the way it happened recently in the country's northern province Takhar. Observing this, Afghans ever more often ponder on what will happen to them if these cutthroats come to power.

The situation in Afghanistan is also pondered in Washington and in Islamabad. But appropriate lessons from this are not drawn. They in Washington and in Islamabad continue banking on implanting their stooges in office in Afghanistan. Those who should have observed the Geneva agreements on political settlement are doing instead everything to make them meaningless. They supply to rebels large consignments of up-to-date arms, including 120 mm mortars and missiles, send ever more groups of mercenaries, and now try to rely on field commanders, instead of leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan Hikmatyar, who compromised himself by extreme brutality.

It becomes ever more obvious to the world public that the United States ceases to be a guarantor of the Geneva Accords and becomes involved in the conflict.

Publishers Discuss Printing of Al-Qadhdhafi Book
LD1808033889 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Tripoli August 17 TASS—Ibrahim Abjad, director of the "Green Book" International Centre, has met with B. Likhachev, director of the Mezhdunarodnye Otnoshenia (International Relations) Publishing House, and N. Kuznetsov, deputy head of the External Relations Department of the USSR State Committee for Publishing, visiting here.

They discussed questions connected with the publication in the Soviet Union in Russian of "Green Book" by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. The book will be published in 50,000 copies.

They also discussed preparations for the holding of a Soviet-Libyan dialogue in Tripoli on perestroika in the USSR and the development of the Jamahiriyah system in Libya. One of the questions discussed was the participation of the Libyan Jamahiriyah in the Moscow International Book Fair.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin Comments on South Africa 'Possibilities'
MB1708113989 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 16 Aug 89

[From the "Overcoming stereotypes" program; passages in quotation marks in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] Recent years have been marked by many discernible changes on the international scene. These years are rightfully called a period of new thinking, or a period of breaking up stereotypes. The African Continent is especially rich in such events. The last colony on the continent, Namibia, is about to attain freedom. Talks are underway to put an end to civil war in Angola and Mozambique. There are signs of settlement in other parts of the continent,—in Africa's horn the conflict between Chad and Libya, and the problem of Western Sahara. There is emerging the hope that the main cause of the conflict in the south of the continent, the system of apartheid in South Africa, will be removed.

Here is what Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin has to say in this context:

[Begin Adamishin recording] "If all goes well in Namibia, and we are doing our best for this, this will bring about changes in the situation in the south of the continent in general. What I mean is creating more favorable conditions for the removal of the main cause of the conflict in the south of the continent, namely the system of apartheid in South Africa. The possibilities to solve this problem by political means are expanding, and in keeping with this line we shall spare no effort to promote comprehensive settlement in the south of Africa." [end recording]

That was Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin about his government's stand on the issue. Perhaps these words have shaken the stereotyped image of some bloodthirsty Russians who allegedly seek to crush poor South Africa, since the Soviet spokesman reaffirmed his government's commitment to a negotiated settlement in the south of Africa.

There is yet another stereotype. Its supporters claim that there is Soviet-American rivalry in that region. In the face of it Soviet Foreign Anatoliy Adamishin says:

[Begin Adamishin recording] "[Words indistinct] in African affairs, our relations with the United States, and a number of other Western countries are increasingly characterized by mutual understanding, and even cooperation with them. This is another factor which, despite the remaining difficulties and differences, is working for settlement in [word indistinct] we simply cannot understand why the Americans continue to provide military aid to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] after a cease-fire agreement has been reached, and after South Africa has refused to provide such aid to the group. There remain major differences between us, but I think it would be safe to state that the degree of cooperation has increased.

"On the question of Soviet-South African contacts, both official and unofficial, which I have had to answer on quite a few occasions, I would say the situation is about the same as it has been in recent months. I would divide the Soviet-South African contacts into three groups. The first one is our contacts with the ANC [African National Congress], with our friends. We maintain close contacts with them and try to coordinate our efforts. Another group, contacts with what is usually called, opposition to apartheid—liberal circles, religious leaders, and the like—such contacts have become more frequent. Spokesmen from South Africa come to Moscow, or to third countries where we meet.

"And the third group of contacts, covers meetings with spokesmen of Pretoria. First such contacts were made when the agreements on Namibian independence were being drafted, and they have been occasionally maintained since that time. Most such contacts were maintained within the framework of the joint commission on the south-west of Africa. There were five delegations in the commission and contacts between all the delegations were quite natural. Soviet spokesmen never avoid meeting spokesmen of South Africa. What do we discuss? Our discussions were usually confined to such matters as settlement, action over resolution 435, noninterference in the affairs of other states, and the need of doing away with apartheid. We advocate the speedy elimination of apartheid by peaceful means. We keep urging the South African government to enter talks with anti-apartheid groups. In other words, we discuss political questions concerning settlement in the south of Africa. No bilateral programs are discussed at such meetings. As you know, the Soviet Union does not have diplomatic, or any other relations with South Africa, that is, acting fully in keeping with the corresponding resolutions of the United Nations organization. But if apartheid in South Africa is abolished, we, or course, will not have any grounds not to establish diplomatic relations with that country." [end recording]

East Europe

Poland's Jaruzelski Meets With Walesa, Others

LD1708180389 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 17 TASS—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa, United Peasants' Party leader Roman Malinowski and Democratic Party leader Jerzy Jozwiak.

The sides discussed the social, economic and political situation in Poland and the formation of a new government.

Jaruzelski pointed to the vital importance of forming a government that would enjoy nationwide support and public confidence.

Walesa presented a concept of forming a "government of national responsibility" that would include all pro-reform political forces represented in parliament.

Jaruzelski said that the presented proposals would be urgently considered and consultations held with a view to forming such a government in the near future in the interests of the people and the state.

The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak. The participants in the meeting expressed to him their gratitude and respect for his efforts to promote reforms and national accord.

Geremek Cited on Meeting With Jaruzelski

LD1708162689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov reports:

At a meeting of the citizens' parliamentary floor group held in an interval of the Sejm proceedings, floor group chairman Bronislaw Geremek reported on a conversation with Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, that took place today. The conversation, he said, dealt mainly with general matters connected with how to form a new government and prospects for the adoption of a decision on this. Presenting the position of the citizens' parliamentary floor group, I stressed that the country's present problems cannot be solved by a mere switch of personalities. The formation of a Solidarity government would be a clear and eloquent sign of the changes that are under way.

President Geremek continued, stated that on the question of the formation of a government he is awaiting the proposals that Walesa will present to him, and he believes that the difficult situation requires a new government with a specialized complexion, and that it should be a government "possessing a strong contingent of experts." The president declared that he understood the sugestion that Solidarity should be the driving force of the new government, as well as the consequences of this. At the same time he expressed the assumption that the adoption of a decision on the question of the government will evidently take another few days.

Rakowski Cited on 'Dangerous' Situation
PM1708155589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Poland: Power Struggle"]

[Text] Warsaw—In a speech 16 August during a meeting of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Deputies' Club, M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, described the present situation as dangerous. C. Kiszczak also took part in the meeting and described his unsuccessful efforts to form a "grand coalition" government.

The new political situation smacking of danger has come about because the parties that until recent days were allies of the PZPR—the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and Democratic Party [SD]—are changing their alignment and are forming an alliance with the opposition. Evidence of this is provided by the meeting of the deputies' clubs of these parties, which decided to accept Lech Walesa's well known proposal to join forces and form a new government based on a new coalition excluding the PZPR. Thus the PZPR is left in isolation. A new coalition majority is being formed in parliament, which is what the "Solidarity" leaders wanted.

At the meeting of the PZPR Deputies' Club, Kiszczak was asked how then his proposal to entrust Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, with the mission of forming a government should be understood. It was an attempt to save the coalition with the ZSL and SD that had hitherto existed, Kiszczak replied.

The situation, Rakowski stressed at the meeting, is changing hourly. The opposition has made an attempt to radically accelerate processes which, according to the "roundtable" decisions, were supposed to stretch over a period of 4 years. By his statement, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee continued, Walesa upset the correlation of political forces in Poland and we have entered a period of open struggle for power, with the threat of a breakdown of the agreements concluded at the "roundtable." The situation is threatening, Rakowski said, but it is still not time to raise our hands in surrender.

Debates connected with the discussion of chiefly budget and financial problems began in the Polish Sejm 16 August. Thanks to the endeavors of the Senate, which, as is well known, is entirely controlled by the opposition, these problems have now come to the fore. The Senate took a sharply negative view of the government draft update of the law on the republic's state budget for 1989. Moreover, it urged that the government be made to answer to the Polish State Tribunal. Newspapers in the capital called the Senate sitting a one-sided game, for it was impossible to expect pluralism of opinions there. No account was taken of either the explanations of Finance Minister A. Wroblewski or the pleas of Marshal of the Senate A. Stelmachowski, who made abortive attempts to persuade his colleagues that it was quite enough to criticize the draft law—what was the point in instituting a case before the State Tribunal? That was going too far. The marshal's proposal was rejected by a majority of votes.

The Sejm received the document rejecting the draft budget law. However, the Sejm decided that it would be better for the law to be finalized by the new government. What new government is not yet clear.

A meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club has also been held. It put forward a proposal that Walesa head a "government of national responsibility." It is reported that the meeting did not call into question the prerogative of the Polish president, who can propose his own candidates for the posts of minister of national defense and minister of the interior. On Thursday the "Solidarity" leader is to meet with Malinowski and J. Jozwiak—leaders of the ZSL and SD—in order to continue talks on forming a government.

Walesa's Readiness To Hold Talks 'Reassuring'
PM1708150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent L. Toporkov report: "To Overcome the Crisis"]

[Text] Warsaw—Almost as soon as I got back to the Polish capital 15 August after a month's absence, there were two surprising pieces of news: That on that day—Tuesday—the whole of Poland was on holiday and that, as IZVESTIYA has already briefly reported, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the new prime minister, gave up further attempts to form a government.

Meeting me at the station, a Polish journalist of my acquaintance immediately commented on both facts. Though it is in a deep economic crisis, the country allows itself the luxury of making a religious holiday a day off, which entails huge material losses. This is what some people apparently understand by what is described as radical reform, which, naturally, involves not a drop in the pace of production, but, on the contrary, its intensification. However, this was by no means done at the insistence of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. In his many days of talks the new premier came up against a kind of boycott fanned by the opposition, which not only doesn't wish to see a PZPR representative at the head of the Council of Ministers, but would also like a government "without communists."

Representatives of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (the opposition) continue to refuse the invitation to participate in a "grand coalition" government. In his last statement Kiszczak recalled the candidacy of Malinowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, who was mentioned by Polish President Jaruzelski among the candidates for the post of premier.

Will Malinowski take on the difficult task? There has still been no answer from him. Many, however, believe it would be expedient and promising if this experienced 54-year-old politician, who until recently was speaker of the Sejm, were to agree to become prime minister. He is a great expert not only on agriculture and the peasant question, but also on economics in general. For 5 years—1980-1985—he occupied the government post of deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. If he is successful, he could become the first premier from the peasant party since 1926.

It is not in the interests of Poland, which is experiencing, on the one hand, unprecedented progress in the process of democratizing all spheres of life and, on the other, great difficulties in the economy, which are inevitable in connection with the switch to market mechanisms, for the government crisis to drag on. The impasse does not help the successful implementation of the economic reforms, moreover, it may lead to the early dissolution of parliament and new elections. So the political game which, many observers here believe, is being played by certain opposition figures who apparently have not recovered from the dangerous ailment of post-election conceit is not conducive to a constructive approach to a cause of great nationwide significance. The idea nurtured by the most quarrelsome oppositionists that "the president is yours, the government ours" is still tenacious.

All the same, it seems as if common sense is beginning to make headway. It is reassuring that, after Kiszczak's departure, Walesa, leader of the "Solidarity" trade union, according to Western mass media reports, expressed willingness to have talks with all social forces in order to create a government as quickly as possible. Now he sees no obstacles to the participation of some Communists in a "government of accord and reform." In its turn GAZETA WYBORCZA—the opposition organ—in the words of its chief editor A. Michnik, advocated that the post of premier should be given to Walesa.

Be that as it may, meanwhile a different reality is knocking insistently at the door and demanding urgent actions, foremost among which are not ambitions in the power struggle but the formation of an effective government consisting of a genuinely "grand coalition," which ZYCIE WARSZAWY today called the number one problem: The consumer goods and food markets are empty, prices are going crazy, and the country is gripped by a new wave of strikes. President Jaruzelski expressed concern at the protracted government crisis and the deepening instability in the economy. He called for joint opposition in this situation to persons who are hindering the process of national accord.

'Independent' News Program To Be Aired in Hungary

LD1808082789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] An independent news program, NAP-TV, is to be broadcast on Hungarian television. It will be on the air twice a week starting 19 August, from 0630 to 0830 [time zone not specified]. The program's materials will not depend on the state. The basis of the program is formed by several cooperative organizations. NAP-TV intends to remain independent from a political point of view as well. It is intended that it should offer various political forces an opportunity to express their views and to speak frankly on all issues of concern to the country's population.

West Europe

Defense Minister Yazov Continues Visit to Finland

Explains Finnish Arms Procurement

LD1708164689 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1500 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union has for the first time told the Finnish defense authorities about the number of Soviet troops near the border between the two countries.

[Correspondent] Yazov explained the Finnish Air Force fighter procurements by presenting a view about the buying method. Finland will first express its wishes, then a delegation will travel to Moscow where it will be presented with equipment, and then a decision will be made and conveyed to the Soviet defense industry. This would point to the fact that the Soviet Union is prepared to sell MiG-29 aircraft after Finland has formed an opinion about whether it wants them. MiG-29 is a good buy but its driving costs are fairly high. There is only a limited amount of top technology in it as well.

The procurement of other equipment from the Soviet Union by the Finnish Army will hopefully continue, because it is part of the military cooperation between our

countries, Yazov added. Maybe the MiGs will still be discussed tomorrow [18 August] when Yazov follows a demonstration by the Air Force.

Yazov said he thinks that it is impossible to transfer the area of Karelia from the Soviet Union to Finland. There will be no negotiations about the borders of the Soviet Union because that would increase the threat of war rather than reduce it, Yazov reasoned.

As for European political matters, Yazov used as an example the membership of neutral countries in the European Community. Yazov started his answer with Austria. Austria is now trying to become a member alongside its policy of neutrality. On the other hand, the EC, at least in its current form, is also a political entity and a membership in it is alignment. Yazov said that the Soviet Union had sent Austria a note which emphasizes the freedom of Austria to make its own decisions within the earlier agreements it has signed. After this Defense Minister Yazov reminded himself and the audience that he is not a diplomat, and left his answer unfinished.

Concerning the superpower disarmament negotiations, Yazov denied the claim of lack of progress in the conventional weapons negotiations in Geneva.

We have agreed on the number of tanks, for example, Yazov said. He added later that the negotiations are made more difficult by the United States demanding that all arms are taken into account during negotiations, when the Soviet Union would keep the discussions in abolishing attack arms. In addition, the way of counting the manpower of the armed forces is still a question over which the superpowers disagree.

Discusses Aircraft Sales With Norrback

LD1808123689 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0930 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Discussions on purchases of aircraft for the Air Force from the Soviet Union opened today with the visit of Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov to Pirkkala. The Air Force presented the Soviet guest with a list of aircraft models and threw light on their purchasing plans. Fighters will become obsolete in the next decade.

Defense Minister Ole Norrback stated that the discussion about aircraft did not go into concrete details, but information was given about schedules and plans. Discussions of prices and technology will start later.

The hosts have been trying during the visit to stress that Finland wants to maintain stability in the Nordic regioin. Our security policy is aimed at this, and defense policy is part of security policy.

Meets Finnish President, Visits Armor Unit

LD1708184889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki August 17 TASS—Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov is continuing his official visit to Finland. He was received today by Finnish President and Commander-in-Chief Mauno Koivisto.

A conversation was held, marked by a warm and friendly atmosphere. Yazov and Koivisto noted the high dynamism and stability of mutually advantageous Soviet-Finnish cooperation in various fields. It was stressed that perestroyka, whose highlight was the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, had a salutary effect on Soviet society, on further improvement of the political climate in Europe and the world. It was noted that good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Finland represent a lasting positive factor in modern international relations.

"Taking part in the conversation were, from the Soviet side: B.I. Aristov, USSR ambassador to Finland; from the Finnish side: O. Norrback, Finnish minister of defense; and General J. Valtanen, commander-in-chief of the defense forces.

The USSR defence minister held a press conference for Finnish and foreign journalists.

The same day Army Gen Yazov visited an armored unit of the Finnish defense forces and acquainted himself with the life, day-to-day activities, and combat training of Finnish servicemen."

Discusses Security With Koivisto

LD1808010489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The official visit to Finland by Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense, is continuing.

The Soviet guest was received by Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland. Various aspects of the state of Soviet-Finnish cooperation and the deepening of perestroyka in our country, including the military sphere, were touched upon during the friendly conversation. Also discussed were issues connected with strengthening security in the Northern region and on the European continent and the prospects for implementing the Soviet and Finnish foreign policy initiatives aimed at creating a non-nuclear zone in Northern Europe and strengthening confidence-building measures in this region.

Answering journalists' questions at a news conference, Dmitriy Yazov explained the content of the new Soviet military doctrine, discussed the practical implementation of measures to reduce armed forces and weaponry, and assessed the global military-strategic situation.

Koivisto Praises Soviet-Finnish Treaty
LD1808083189 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki August 18 TASS—The 1948 Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance is a sound basis for trustworthy relations between the Soviet Union and Finland, said Finnish President Mauno Koivisto. This is a document of paramount importance, he noted.

The statement made by the head of the Finnish state at a meeting with Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister, was circulated by the Finnish news agency.

Soviet-French Consultations on Lebanon End
LD1708130189 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—Soviet-French consultations with the participation of Jacques Andreani, special representative of the French president and director of the French Foreign Minister's Office, and Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh ended in Moscow. They discussed the crisis situation in Lebanon.

During the meeting, the sides had a detailed examination of possible ways of settling the Lebanese crisis in line with a joint statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand of July 6, 1989, Vladimir Polyakov, head of the Department of the Middle East and North African countries of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today. They pointed to the importance of resumed activities by the Tripartite Committee of the Arab League, above all for achieving an immediate ceasefire. The sides favoured a more active and concerted international support for the committee. In this connection the two sides expressed hope that the call contained in a statement which was made by the U.N. Security Council president on August 16, would be duly perceived by all Lebanese groups and would be an additional impetus to the efforts of Arab countries to defuse the Lebanese situation.

The Soviet diplomat said that the sides reached an understanding to continue Soviet-French consultations on the Lebanese situation and to make them more regular.

Naval Command Apologizes to Norway Over Incident
LD1808092289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Aug (TASS)—The command of the USSR Navy has expressed its regret in connection with an incident on 12 August involving a Norwegian trawler and a submarine of the USSR Navy, and has promised to hold an investigation into all the circumstances of the case as soon as the submarine arrives at its base. Reporting this today to a TASS diplomatic correspondent, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry noted that they only found out what had happened after some time had elapsed.

The incident with the Norwegian trawler on 12 August at 2000 local time involved a diesel-powered submarine of the USSR Navy, which was on a training voyage 330 nautical miles to the north of the Kola peninsula.

The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry stressed that "we will be prepared to inform the Norwegian side of the results of the investigation. The appropriate Soviet services will be prepared to contact the Norwegians after the investigation with the aim of resolving the incident."

Latin America & Caribbean

Central American Meeting Improves Peace Prospects
PM1708133189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[International observer Captain S. Sidorov article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "From Words to Deeds?"]

[Text] A meeting among the presidents of the five Central American countries—Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador—ended this week. Its results attracted the world public's close attention and continue to evoke extensive comment in various countries' mass media organs. This is due to the fact that the meeting held in the small resort town of Tela on Honduras' Atlantic coast, by all accounts, finally opened the way for a settlement of the crisis in the region by peaceful means. In spite of all the differences in their positions and political sympathies, the participants in the conference of the "five" were able to make a sober assessment of the situation and make decisions consonant with the demands of the time and the interests of the Central American peoples.

What is the essence of these decisions? The main result of the meeting, as already reported, was the signing of an agreement on disarming and disbanding the Nicaraguan contras. At the same time measures were determined which should help to stop the armed conflict in El Salvador. A compromise Nicaraguan-Honduran agreement was also signed on the temporary suspension of

Nicaragua's action against Honduras in the International Court in the Hague over the organization of armed sorties by the contras from that country's territory.

In accordance with the plan adopted at the meeting, the process of the disbandment, voluntary repatriation, and transfer to third countries of members of armed contra formations must begin 8 September and be completed before the end of the year. It will take place under the supervision of an international commission chaired by the UN and OAS secretaries general. The presidents called upon the Salvadoran rebels to stop their armed activity and to begin dialogue with the government for a peaceful settlement of the internal conflict. Moreover, the Salvadoran Government was instructed to strictly observe democratic norms within the framework of the national reconciliation process.

It should be stressed that the success of the meeting in Tela resulted to a significant degree from the Nicaraguan leadership's political courage and flexibility and its consistency in fulfilling the accords adopted earlier. The holding on the eve of the 5 presidents' conference of a national dialogue in the country with the participation of 20 of the 21 registered opposition political parties occupies a special place among the most important constructive steps taken by the Nicaraguan Government. The dialogue ended with the signing of a political agreement between the Nicaraguan government, the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], and the opposition. In accordance with this agreement the Sandinist government assumed a number of obligations:

—To hold a political amnesty, which will come into force immediately after the contras' demobilization;

—To suspend army recruitment in the period from September this year through February 1990;

—To propose that parliament repeal the existing law on maintaining order and public safety and make amendments to the criminal code, and also other obligations.

This agreement once again demonstrated the seriousness of the Sandinists' intentions to settle the acute internal problems via democratization and national accord.

The positive nature of the decisions made in Tela testify to the crucial significance of the presidents' meeting. If they are implemented, a political settlement of the conflict in the region will be assured. In spite of U.S. attempts both during preparations for the meeting and while it was being held to prevent an agreement from being reached on the contras' disbandment before the end of this year, the possibility emerged for a final and irrevocable solution of this, the central question in the range of regional problems. Even Honduras, which is bound hand and foot by financial dependency on the U.S., did not give in to "big brother's" demands. Washington's emissaries tried to "persuade" the Hondurans to leave the contras on their territory until the start of the general elections in Nicaragua planned for February 1990, to serve as an instrument of pressure on the Sandinists. Nor was another demand of the U.S. "observers" who attended the meeting supported. It amounted to linking the disbandment of the contras directly with the disarmament of the rebel detachments in El Salvador and was aimed at placing one more obstacles in the path of adopting a final accord.

The White House's attempts to foist on the Central Americans its own view of the problems, which runs counter to these countries' long-term interests, are steadily losing credence. It is for good reason that, as soon as Secretary of State Baker expressed his "dissatisfaction" about the agreements in Tela, the pragmatists in the Bush administration hastened to state that, all the same, the U.S. "on the whole supports" them. Only the future will tell how sincere these statements are. But Washington, it seems, is increasingly beginning to realize that its former approaches have become obsolete. As the U.S. NBC television company reported, citing Bush aides, "the President has no choice and he must go in the direction indicated by the Central American leaders and the Democrats in Congress."

In reality does this mean that, in the words of a correspondent from that television company, "the Reagan era has ended" and we are witnessing a major evolution in the U.S. Central American course? Hardly. The U.S. main aim in the region remains as before—to restore U.S. hegemony and neutralize and suppress those political and public circles which reject Central American dependence on the U.S. The entire experience of implementation of the Guatemalan agreements, which at every step ran into resistance from Washington, testifies to this. It is right, in my view, to speak merely of a shift of emphasis in this course from military to political. The Bush administration's future strategy, in all probability, will be to maintain pressure on the Sandinists in every possible way.

The most likely outcome is something similar to the 1973 Chilean scenario: The intensification of tension in the economy plus generous financing of the internal opposition and the organization of political sabotage. Thus at the end of June the U.S. House of Representatives made the decision to give the CIA the right to covertly finance the opposition parties' election campaign in Nicaragua. This year the "National Foundation for Democracy," which has certain ties with this department, intends to allocate $3.5 million in addition to the $5 million already spent on the needs of the Nicaraguan opposition. According to information at the disposal of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, more than 400,000 false documents which could later be used to falsify the upcoming elections have already been handed over to the opposition by the U.S. special services.

In my view, it is also premature to conclude that the White House has finally abandoned reliance on force as regards Nicaragua. Judge for yourselves. What can be the

real aim of the U.S. attempts to discredit the general elections in Nicaragua, which today it is already calling a "sham," and the claim that the voting will be "dishonest" and "illegal"? Doesn't this all resemble a poorly disguised psychological operation to get Congress to restore military aid to the rebels? By granting "humanitarian" aid to the contras, the U.S. is inciting them to step up subversive actions against Nicaragua's peaceful population in order to force the republic's citizens either to refuse to participate in the elections or to vote against the FSLN candidates. As B. Arce, member of the FSLN national leadership, stated recently, in June alone the contra gangs provoked 53 armed clashes with Sandinist People's Army subunits. During this period, according to information from the republic's Defense Ministry, special CIA aircraft delivering weapons and ammunition to the contras were observed on 17 occasions in Nicaragua's skies.

Furthermore: The facts prove that the Pentagon is continuing to increase its military presence in Central America. Last month the joint U.S.-Honduran "Big Pine-89" and "Terencio Sierra-89" military exercises, in which U.S. Navy warships participated, took place in a provocative proximity to Nicaragua's borders. So the Sandinist People's Army's need to maintain high combat readiness and vigilance is obvious.

Central America's problems can and must be solved by the region's countries themselves. This is the immutable Soviet position. As USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze stated a few days ago, the Soviet Union welcomes the boldness and realism of the decisions made by the five presidents of the region's countries and values the accord reached at the meeting in Tela. Our country, the minister stressed, will help in every possible way to implement it fully.

In this context the reaching of an accord between the USSR and the U.S. to stop military deliveries to the region and to assume pledges to mutually refrain from arms deliveries is very significant. Taking account of the military-political situation in Central America and after consultations with the Nicaraguan Government, the Soviet Union has suspended the fulfillment of its obligations concerning these deliveries. It is up to the U.S. to respond. Cooperation between the USSR and the U.S. in work to settle the Central American conflict could have a beneficial influence on the situation in the region.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Presidium 16 Aug Session Reported

Problems in Estonia Discussed

LD1708201989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1747 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Relay of the 16 August USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session held in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Lukyanov] Next to speak is Comrade Arnold Fedorovich Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Ryuytel] Esteemed comrades, recently in our republic a comparatively serious political situation has come about. This has occurred for a number of reasons—socioeconomic, sociopolitical, historical, and demographic. This situation is undoubtedly directly influencing our law-making process. Without an understanding of, and regard for these factors, one can end up drawing inaccurate and superficial conclusions. At the same time, because of these factors, the processes that we are attempting to regulate legislatively sometimes assume a completely different thrust. The main thing one must bear in mind in analyzing this situation is the problems associated with the republic's transfer to its own model of financial autonomy. The current difficult economic situation throughout the union—and that includes our republic—and also the increasing work to prepare for the transfer to republican financial autonomy from 1 January next year, have resulted in a sense of uncertainty in part of the republic's Russian-speaking population. This is mainly that part which is employed at enterprises and organizations under all-union jurisdiction. Unquestionably, republican financial autonomy should change the existing situation whereby the degree of integration of enterprises under all-union jurisdiction with the life of the republic, a specific region or town, effectively amounts to zero. The change in economic management conditions toward greater interconnection with republican legislation and republican and local budgets, will naturally make it necessary to restructure the economic activity of such effectively extraterritorial enterprises and organizations on the basis of the USSR law on socialist enterprises. The difficulties associated with such a restructuring, particularly in the current circumstances with regard to supply, frighten some and evoke a natural desire to leave everything as it was.

This is not a problem peculiar to our republic. It is typical for the whole country. For historical reasons which you will be well acquainted with, however, the overwhelming majority of people employed at such enterprises are of nonindigenous national groups. In this connection, the economic situation has acquired a certain not national, I would say, but linguistic specific character. No doubt republican bodies are to blame for that, too. They failed to organize a timely explanation of the goals and real potential for producers in the new conditions and of the unconditional guarantees of rights for all working people regardless of their nationality—in other words, to relieve the tension which arises at the beginning. However, this has not taken place. Tension has been increasing; part of the Russian population has started to view any steps by the republican bodies aimed at implementing the IME [self-managing Estonia] program—this how financial autonomy is described in our language—or linked with it in the slightest degree, with distrust and later with open hostility, to which certain public formation contributed their considerable efforts. The results of the sociological studies that have been carried out show this, too.

The demands of the strike committee are only the background and against this background a conflict has arisen about the adoption by the republic of the new law on elections to the local soviets of people's deputies. The issue of a settlement qualification [tsenz osedlosti] for the elector and to a degree for the elected, in other words, for the deputy, became the main issue. Submitting the draft law for a nationwide discussion, the legislator proceeded from the premise that on the basis of this law, local bodies called upon to implement qualitatively new functions of local self-government of a new kind should be created. No republican financial autonomy is possible, however, without a system of local self-government operating on a territorial principle. And everybody agrees with that. The legislator proceeded from the understanding of local self-government as a system reflecting the specific interests of the community of people residing on the given territory, and also proceeded from the need to institute qualification requirements concerning this body, primarily to provide competence in their formation. This is where the democratic function of the settlement qualification lies. Its purpose is to be a legal guarantee and a criterion which protects the interests of the corresponding territorial community of people.

They should manage themselves, independently dealing with their affairs in the way that the community thinks correct, not depending on chance external factors which could possibly have a decisive significance. Concerning candidates for deputies, the introduction of a residence qualification did not arouse a strong negative reaction among the Russian-speaking population of the republic, but with regard to the electorate it was received very badly. Let me remind you that the last qualification was not contained in the draft submitted for public discussion by our presidium. The demand for its inclusion was contained in the majority of addresses and speeches during public discussion.

It was precisely with this fact in mind that the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the Supreme Soviet and the Commission for Improving Constitutional Legislation included the draft demand for voters to reside for a

period of 2 years on the territory of the local soviet being elected, which had been presented for discussion by the session. However, at the first sitting of the session on 24 July, it emerged that this demand did not satisfy all the deputies. Strikes also began at certain union enterprises in the city of Tallinn. In connection with this, we decided to interrupt the work of the session in order, once again, to discuss the draft law on elections to local soviets of people's deputies with our electorate and with the public, and to work out its final version, in accordance with the wishes of the people and proceeding from the political realities of Estonia.

An editorial commission was elected with the task of analyzing the remarks expressed by deputies at the session in order to take them into consideration during the final drawing up of the draft law. The work of the editorial commission turned out to be significantly broader. The break in the work of the session brought about an essentially new public discussion, in the course of which the demands became more radical and the residence qualification became a political issue. As a result, taking account of the views expressed and in accordance with a proposal from a representative of the union of labor collectives of Estonia, which unites about 450,000 workers, the following conclusion was made at a joint sitting of the Editorial Commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Commission for Legislative Proposals, held before the second sitting of the session: The residence qualification for a voter should correspond to the way it is recorded now in the Law on Elections. However, at the joint sitting, all the other proposals were also discussed, and two rival proposals were formulated and put to the vote. Of the 45 members of the Editorial Commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Commission for Legislative Proposals, 34 voted for the version approved as a result of the session. At the session, 191 deputies voted for this version, 49 deputies voted against. There were no abstenstions. Four deputies did not participate in the vote. Fifty deputies voted for the alternative version, 193 voted against. Then the law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic on elections to local soviets of people's deputies, as a whole, was put to the vote. One hundred and ninety-four deputies voted for adoption of the law, 36 deputies voted against, 8 deputies abstained. Thus, the law was adopted by a majority of votes. How can such a result be explained? Probably, it should be borne in mind that, whereas one section of the population has not accepted the residence qualification—and what is more, a part has begun to protest actively against it in the form of strikes or strike threats, even up to the intention to set up alternative bodies of authority on the basis of profession—the other section of society has taken great umbrage to such ultimatums, seeing them as a threat to the territorial integrity of the republic and to its transfer to financial autonomy, and has radicalized its demands as a defensive reaction in response.

What is the way out here? We discussed that at a closed sitting of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidum and came to the conclusion that there has not been any instance in world practice of anything like our understanding of our problems. One thing is obvious today. Nowhere is there a situation like that which exists in our country at the present time, and in Estonia specifically. That is a highly complicated situation, a confused one, with far from simple historical and economic extraneous features. The legislative regulation that we are forced to work on at the present time and immediately, without waiting for it to be sorted out is, you see, not a question to be decided by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The people themselves must decide it through the representatives authorized by them, that is, the deputies.

Second [as heard], we set up a commission of the deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet and of deputies of the union from Estonia. The commission should work out the possible ways of developing methods by which a consensus can be achieved, which will take into account the opinions of the minority. And this element has, moreover, been introduced into the law on elections of the local soviets, as well. Second [as heard], we have revoked the decision adopted regarding the stopping of the strike.

And almost everything that happened...[Ryuytel changes thought] and naturally there were meetings; in the republic the first secretary met not only with the strikes' committee, but with a whole group of people, who probably numbered 150. And in my opinion, a constructive conversation did to a certain extent take place in order to discuss these problems. And, there is a group of deputies who are meeting at present; meetings started yesterday and today they are continuing in our republic. But I think that Comrade Tarasevich will tell you about that as well. So, at present, this is how we are trying to somehow reach mutual understanding again. I would request that the Supreme Soviet Presidium express its opinion on these events and strikes as well, since this practice exists in the country—that is, that opinions have been expressed at the presidium regarding the problems in Karabakh, in Tbilisi, and in other regions of our country. That is all that I have to say.

[Lukyanov] Are there any questions, comrades. Let us have them.

[Unidentified speaker] From the report I did not understand what goal you were pursuing in that complicated situation in the republic, in adopting amendments like that which caused the situation in the republic to deteriorate sharply. The design is understandable—that at the elections a majority of the indigenous population should be returned in the local soviets and in the Supreme Soviet. Well, and what then? Why is this majority needed? So later on to adopt decisions discriminating against the rest of the population? If the opposite is the case, then it is neither logical nor understandable. What was the reason for being prepared to agree to such a serious exacerbation of the situation in the republic, just for the sake of obtaining a majority of the indigenous population in the local soviets and the Supreme Soviet?

That is probably not an aim in itself. Probably after that, some more effective steps are planned that you are keeping quiet about. From the report I personally did not understand what caused you to adopt such a decision.

[Ryuytel] First, I would correct you. This is not in the interests of the indigenous population, but that was introduced in the interests of a specific community of people who live in the given territory, let's say rayon, or town. So, I request you to accept this understanding of it, first. And I explained in my brief elucidation and speech how this came about in practice. That was not introduced initially, but was introduced in the course of the further discussion, and as I said, that residence qualification for the electorate, that came about as a political category, became a question of actual discussion as a law like that, but of a completely different order. And no matter how much we discuss it, and, as you said, the local and party bodies expressed their opinions, and they were also of the same opinion, right from the very beginning when the draft decision was submitted. But that is not to be implemented as I have said. So, inferences that I have tried to avoid talking about something, I would say, are not true.

[Unidentified speaker] In your report, you definitely did not say what the Supreme Soviet's position is.

[Unidentified speaker] The presidium. What was its view?

[Ryuytel] The presidium took the relevant decision when it initially examined its position and during the time between the two sessions as well. And Anatoliy Ivanovich and I did, in my opinion, evaluate the political situation quite correctly so to speak. And we managed to work out a real solution, a completely feasible solution. But, as you see, taking into account the complexity, we were not able to implement it.

[Unidentified speaker] What did this feasible solution consist of?

[Ryuytel] Well, it consisted in the fact that the settlement qualification for voters really must be rejected, then that is not right, and it must be excluded. But, for all that, with respect to the qualification for deputies there is some logic. And that needs to be left. And taking into account the relatively large concentration of troop units in certain regions, I mean rayons, in Estonia, a situation could happen where half the deputies will again be servicemen or something like that. Therefore we discussed it and discussed it and finally came to the opinion that it would be correct to have representatives for all that, for all servicemen to vote, to take part in the voting and independent constituencies are being organized and the military men themselves in Tallinn. The head of the city of Tallinn garrison, for example, Admiral (Belov), also considered that that was right and confirmed in writing that servicemen consider an approach like that to be correct.

A conversation like that took place and I think that was a consensus in a political sense and in respect of the law as well.

[Unidentified speaker] Tell me, were servicemen who are voters taken into account in this, and don't you think that in general the right of a serviceman voter is that of those who are over 18 years old?

[Ryuytel] I am completely in agreement with you. There really is a question at issue. And we have only just and repeatedly discussed that question, but I have already explained how Comrade Lukyanov and I discussed and returned to that over and over again. And taking into account the relative concentration on definite specific territories which again evoke some kind of additional, so to speak, political difficulties there because the local people, the local population would not understand it correctly. That was the course of the discussion.

[Unidentified speaker] How many residents in the republic, together with servicemen, will not be taking part in the elections, and will not have the right to be elected? That's the first question. And the second is what is the structure of the population of the republic at the present time? And how in connection with this law will the structure of the current composition of deputies change now and in the future?

[Ryuytel] Regarding the draft, I would ask to write it down and set it out in the spirit of some kind of mutual understanding so as not to exacerbate the problem even more.

[Lukyanov] The draft was prepared before the meeting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium which was held yesterday till late in the evening, the draft you have been given. Naturally, Arnold Fedorovich and ourselves will have to think how to formulate this, taking account of the remarks made. Evidently, we will have to do this in a more flexible way.

[Unidentified speaker from the floor] Are there any other proposals from the strike committee or any other demands? Well, we know about them from newspaper articles, but you have somehow bypassed them. Which of them do you see as the most fundamental? And the second question: After your meeting [word indistinct] now can you prevent these strike phenomena and reassure labor collectives?

[Ryuytel] A whole range of other points, and it was put on paper when I met with the strike committee; there also was the question of language. In relation to the law on language, there were questions concerning the problem of studying, technical facilities, and so on. And we received every day while we met several times—we have met four times—we discussed in great detail the relevant protocol decision, and we instructed the republican Council of Ministers, accordingly, to look into these issues and to adopt the corresponding decisions,

when necessary, so that, indeed, people were not hurt. Say, the means that are required for learning the language in the trade sphere, for example—one needs to know several hundreds of words in order to require that the Estonians, each shop assistant, should know the Russian language, and the other way around, accordingly, so that nobody is hurt when going, say to a bakery, and the same should be true for domestic services and so on. Such is the situation when the customer does not always pay himself [as heard]. In the future, I imagine, say, in 5 years this will not be a problem, I think. But, at the initial stage, there are problems there. Well, there were such things. As I said in my speech, this issue of transition to full financial autonomy, of course, means the transfer of certain enterprises to the republic's competence. Today practically 90 percent of enterprises are under union jurisdiction and over 9 percent are under republican jurisdiction. Obviously, this causes certain complications, too, and most of all, perhaps, among the simplest people because in many respects they were better provided for, perhaps, through direct contacts. The union enterprise was provided with raw materials and other possibilities and means through direct contacts, but this causes concern. There are very many comments alleging that now, during the transition, there will be 1, 2 or 3 years during which there will be difficulties in supplies with raw materials and other technological units and so on. There are problems here, and as I have said, more explanatory work is required. And I can report to you now that we are seriously working on it now. We are using deputies from Estonia to a great degree. In practical terms, in the last few days after the union's session had ended, they visited collectives which have more questions and problems, and, of course, the leadership, both party and soviet leadership of local bodies and the republican leadership visited those enterprises, too, to meet people and to talk. Well, one should not forget either that there are people who behave in a hostile way and conduct a sort of counterpropaganda, and this causes a great deal of harm.

[Lukyanov] Thank you. Are there any more questions to the comrade? Thank you, Arnold Fedorovich. I think we should listen to our representative who has just returned from Estonia, Comrade Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for Interethnic Relations of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Please, Georgiy Stanislavovich. [passage omitted]

[Tsybukh] [Passage omitted] In my view, and not only in my view, residence qualification is, to put it straight, a step backwards from democracy. This has been said here, and it must be said straight out again today that this question has arisen not by chance. And, I think that it does not strengthen nor consolidate, but seriously disunites and damages many people, especially young people. [passage omitted]

[Lukyanov] Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov.

[Nishanov] [passage omitted] We are dealing with the building of a law-based state, with respect for Soviet laws and for the Soviet Constitution, and at the same time somewhere, in some part we are permitting a serious deviation from these principles of ours. It seems to me that no one has the right to permit that. In the Supreme Soviet, other union organs, and in the mass media we have been receiving over the past few days hundreds and thousands of letters and telegrams. People are posing questions specifically and firmly: Why is a violation of the provisions of the constitution being permitted? Why are citizens' rights being trampled on? And why, in effect, is discrimination being permitted?

It is not easy to reply to those questions. Of course, we understand the economic, social, and other complexities that Soviet Estonia is going through. We also understand the steps which were taken unjustly in the period of dictate in relation to the economic and social development of Estonia and its indigenous population. But surely that does not provide a reason for raising some sort of anti-constitutional and effectively anti-perestroyka demands at such a serious stage, at a stage of serious breakthrough. [passage omitted]

I think that our Estonian comrades, the leadership of the republic, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet have enough wisdom and courage to look again at this decision. Can we really now, in the period of perestroyka, take a step backward? Every action of ours must be a step forward, and this also applies to the republican strike committee. I think that it is also wrong for the republican strike committee to make ultimatums. Is it possible to achieve unity by making such ultimatums to each other? No. We must move to meet each other. We must move toward each other. We must work out a constructive position. We must come to a common denominator. Otherwise, we will not have a common success.

I am simply worried, seriously worried by some of the nationalistic speeches from individual representatives of Estonia, even from USSR People's Deputy Made who in a Swedish newspaper virtually insulted Russians and incorrectly interpreted the nationalities policy of the Soviet Union. Why does a people's deputy take such liberties? Why does a people's deputy inflame passions and in effect make nations clash? Why? We already have a complicated situation. Events in the Transcaucasus, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, and other republics are sufficiently alarming us, and the Supreme Soviet, the party Central Committee, and the USSR Government today are having to think about emergency steps in order to liquidate it. But what our Estonian comrades have done is complicating the situation even further. [passage omitted]

It was with great satisfaction that I listened to the speech here by Arnold Fedorovich Ryu/tel. He said that Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed this question in detail yesterday and is proposing a way of tackling it. I also think that the USSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium can trust the statement by Comrade Yuytel, and if the comrades make conciliatory moves and lift these discriminatory provisions, then I am convinced that the republican strike committee will also make a step toward meeting them.

[Lukyanov] Thank you. Comrade Vilkas.

[Vilkas] Esteemed, Comrades! It seems to me that it is formally impossible to solve this question, although I can agree with the draft decision which has been distributed. Formally, all is correct in it, so to speak. But let's recall the fact that the USSR legislation on elections also contradicts international law and why is it then that we keep quiet about this? I recall that the fact that we elect people from public organizations contradicts the equality of the elections.

This means that one person has several votes, another person has only one vote. This, too, constitutes the same kind of violation. When this law was being adopted, still by the old Supreme Soviet, a great number of signatures against these laws were collected in the Baltic republics. Particularly in Lithuania 1.8 million signatures were collected, which constitutes virtually the whole adult population. The Supreme Soviet did not consider it possible to turn its attention to it, so to speak, and these laws were, all the same, adopted.

In respect of this case I believe that we should not approach this question purely formally. Yes, the introducton of the settlement qualification is something which is outmoded, not so outmoded as bringing in deputies from public organizations. It is apparent that if we do not view the problem informally, so to speak, then there will be no solution in this respect.

To me, personally, the Estonian Supreme Soviet's decision does not seem to be good. In Lithuania we are doing things differently and it seems that conflicts like this do not arise. But God knows, I was not in an Estonian's shoes and I am able to judge fully on, or, even more, condemn them for these actions.

After all, we should first and foremost take a look, not at the USSR Constitution, which contradicts itself, and so any ratification passed is also in contradiction with it...[Vilkas changes thought] One cannot view things like this. I believe that there are even more fundamental matters than the USSR Constitution and that's the inalienable right of any people to struggle for their own existence. In this case, I believe that for the Estonians it was precisely the aggravated nature of this conception that nudged them toward the decision, which may not have been the best.

Therefore in this respect the fact that we have imperfect legislation both at union and republican levels is, indeed, surfacing again and again. The whole stack of problems which has accumulated in interethnic relations give us no opportunity to solve anything in a juridical, fine and proper way.

It seems to me that owing to the complexity of this situation the decision on the abolition of the laws adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet should not be made, especially as we are striving for a kind of structure of the Soviet Union in which each people will feel good and secure. This means, I think, that for the Estonians it is impossible to feel good in the case in which their matters are being solved for them. For all that, the adoption of laws on elections to local soviets is their internal affair. To deem something unlawful, seems to be, well, inappropriate.

In a word, I believe that we are, of course, entitled to note that the first point, in the way in which it was formulated to the effect that the laws which have been adopted contradict the USSR Constitution and these articles, is correct; this is the case. But, I believe we should not make great conclusions from this. Simply, I think that we must be given some time. The two sides which are in conflict should, all the same, understand that both of them, or each of them separately, are capable of leading a good life only when the two sides live well.

It should be clear to the Estonians that life in Estonia will not be good when there is some dissatisfaction among the Russian-speaking population. On the other hand, the Russian-speaking population should also understand that it does not have the right to demand that Estonia be Russia. This, too, should be borne in mind. Its life in Estonia will not be good either if things are bad for the Estonians, so to speak. Thus, in my view, the two sides are fully interested to show their good will and to find solutions. I think that the second variant of the solution is fully acceptable.

[Lukyanov] Thank you. Comrade Vladimir Konstantinovich Foteyev, if you please.

[Foteyev] Esteemed comrades, regardless of what the previous speaker said, I would like to say that the speeches and reports by previous speakers show fairly convincingly the the illegal nature of the decisions of the most recent session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, in particular, of such a provision of the election law as the settlement qualification. I believe that there is a blatant violation of such constitutional rights of the citizen as a right to express one's will freely while forming state authorities, and a right to be elected to these bodies. Without going into legal subtleties, one would like once again to evaluate the essence of the adopted decision as one that infringes upon human rights, the rights that are guaranteed not only by the USSR and Estonian Constitutions, but also by international human and political rights and by other agreements signed by the Soviet Union.

One can claim, with good reason, that this decision by the session divides the republic's residents into two categories. One has an unlimited right to vote and to be elected, whereas the other may be deprived of it. To

agree with this today will mean to establish a precedent for similar illegal decisions tomorrow, even if this concerns a limited number of people. One would like to draw the attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium members to the fact that the law on election should be examined together with the law on language; the latter's requirements are difficult to fulfill for many people, they will result in a substantial change in the national composition of labor collectives, and migration of a certain part of the population within the republic, and through this, the sphere of influence of the settlement qualification and of its application will increase considerably.

We are aware of the fact that certain deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet have comdemned the nationalistic elaborations on this subject by USSR People's Deputy Tiyt Made, which were published in a Swedish newspaper. They include such passages: Estonia belongs to the Estonians, who should have the right to a deciding vote; all others should be regarded as having a consultative vote.

Returning to Comrde Villkas' speech, I would like to express my disagreement with him and, maybe, to assess some of his theses as an attempt to lead the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium away from solving a specific problem today without involving the USSR Constitution and its provisions in general. Why? Because far from innocent speeches were made at the session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. I will permit myself to quote from the publication in a newspaper which is available to us from SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. One of the deputies, (Pyldros), addressing colleagues who do not know our language—that was how he started this part of his speech—said: Evidently, the time has come, and you have understood, or, perhaps, you understood this earlier, that you, in fact, have come to a foreign country [chuzhaya strana] and it appears, the speaker continued, that you are facing the question: Who are you in this house, who? Substantiating his position in relation to the introduction of the settlement qualification, Comrade Lippmaa, USSR people's deputy, who spoke at the session, stated categorically: There is nowhere to retreat from the qualification, and if we do not introduce it, we will simply have incompetent authorities which nobody needs. A question arises involuntarily: Who and what are hampering competent authorities from being elected? Yet another characteristic pronouncement which, in the view of deputy Savisaar who spoke there, was intended for reassuring those who are unhappy about the new law: There are no grounds for maintaining that although we have had the right to vote until today, no one is trying to deprive a certain part of the population of it. None of us, in essence, has had the right to vote.

As we see, comrades, the dialogue for which the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appeals today—and I support this proposal—is very necessary but, at the same time, it is very complex. The situation is contradictory. The fact alone that an anticonstitutional decision on limiting the Soviet citizen's inalienable right to participate in elections to local authorities has been adopted testifies to that. The fragments from a number of speeches which I have quoted—and one can familiarize oneself with others, too—made at the session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, show this, too. In connection with this, Comrade Ryuytle's appeal to the deputies to advance unswervingly along the path of democratization and to support more than ever the current political course, the course that is being implemented by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Gorbachev sounded utterly unconvincing, in our view.

Coming back to the essence of the solution that we are discussing today, I fully second the proposals that have been voiced and the draft decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. One should like to believe that the leadership and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will succeed in implementing the recommendations expressed by the presidium today.

[Lukyanov] Please, comrades, who else would like to speak? Sergey Sergeyevich, do you wish to speak? Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order.

[Alekseyev] [passage omitted] We must not, of course, dramatize the situation, but neither must we simplify it. I think that we should sympathize with the concerns and problems which our Estonian comrades have. The problems are connected with the introduction of republican financial autonomy and with the fact that still now there has not been full national independence for that republic.

But at the same time, I think that we must say with sufficient firmness that all these processes and the solving of these problems and concerns should be conducted strictly by constitutional means. We have no other way than the creation of a law-based state. Every wayward step, every incorrect step on this way will complicate our perestroyka. [passage omitted]

[Lukyanov] Thank you. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

[Yeltsin] Comrades, the situation is, of course, not simple, and we should probably not approach today's question, the discussion and especially the decision-making, in such a formal manner. [passage omitted] We should probably first establish that the decision of the republic's Supreme Soviet committed a deviation from the USSR Constitution. At the same time, I would like to remind the members of the presidium here that both at the congress and especially at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, it was proposed that—considering we are now moving towards the adoption of laws by the republics and the adoption of laws on local elections and on elections to the republics supreme soviets—a series of

amendments should be adopted to the USSR Constitution which to a large extent would disclose the possibilities of adopting locally laws on elections which would be more democratic than the law which we have today, the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies. [passage omitted]

It further seems to me that today, having approximately agreed on the second version of the proposed draft decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, we should indeed give the opportunity to the republic itself, by developing dialogue and by making greater contacts with all strata of the population of the republic, indeed within the republic, to find a solution to that question.

This is all the more important since they will have to pass a law on elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet and before that time, as well as in that law, they can accordingly amend those points which naturally one cannot consider permissible, especially in respect of the electoral right of each citizen who has reached the age of 18 years.

Further, I would like to draw your attention to the issue of language as well. It is probable that not all the measures are being taken in the republic to create the conditions for studying the Estonian language. And that in the term that has been given, let's say 4 years, if the conditions are not created—textbooks, technical aids, special teaching courses, etc.—then the process will intensify and will be aggravated and it will not lead to the solution of, so to speak, the situation that exists today.

I would also have thought that one cannot consider these strikes that are being carried out today to be the correct actions. That is, in the situation that we have in the country, that we have in the republic today, it is not a solution to the question to ask the strike committee and the strikers for all that not to resort to this extreme measure in their protest either.

[Lukyanov] Thank you. Comrade Kucherenko, the floor is yours. Chairman of the Commission on Planning and Budget and Finance.

[Kucherenko] All the same, as I see it the decision by the Estonian Supreme Soviet has not been thought through properly, and the need to set such a significant section of the Estonian population against oneself at this already difficult time in the republic was unjustified. [sentence as heard] That is my firm conviction. And suggestions that this was merely an excuse, while the main reason is the republic's switch to financial autonomy, is insufficiently justified, because the republic's switch to financial autonomy, passed and supported by the Supreme Soviet, virtually promises all the republic's enterprises and labor collectives a way out. And really we should not get one thing mixed up with another. And therefore, this badly thought-out decision has exacerbated the situation in the republic. The Supreme Soviet and our Supreme Soviet Presidium must definitely state where they stand on the present situation.

You know, Anatoliy Ivanovich, I have looked at these two decisions which have been proposed, the first and the second options. As it gets down to work, right from the very outset the Supreme Soviet Presidium must assume a definite and clear stance. The second option is so woolly and vague that, frankly speaking, it is fraught with uncertain consequences. It is that occasional vagueness in the top echelon's stance that gives rise in the provinces to vague and sometimes unpredictable actions. Perhaps I am not right, but I believe that the first option does not contain anything reprehensible for the presidium and the republic's Supreme Soviet. Everything is set out in a fairly correct wording, in a restrained way. But it is definite. The position of the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium is sketched out clearly and precisely. The wording of the second option contains a certain vagueness that provides grounds for considering that the republic's Supreme Soviet made the correct decision, but one could also view it that the strike committee had also correctly raised this matter. And thus we are offering an opportunity for the matter to be adjudicated locally. Perhaps it would not be too difficult to adjudicate, because I do not know the situation in the republic well enough, but the way I see it, a well defined attitude in the Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision would not destabilize the situation. Quite the reverse, it would clearly and precisely determine the stance and provide the opportunity to uphold this stance using the correct...well, tendency and trend that is current in the republic. And so, when all is said and done, I will be supporting the first version submitted for examination.

[Lukyanov] Right, who else? Comrade Primakov, go ahead.

[Primakov] Comrades, I cannot agree with Viktor Grigoryevich that the second version is somehow woolly and vague. It is stated plainly here that a residence qualification is not in line with the USSR Constitution for taking part in elections or being elected to the Soviet of People's Deputies, and to restrict the participation of servicemen in elections. Nor is this in line with the Soviet Union's international legal obligations. This is stated quite plainly, and this thought is, without the slightest doubt, contained there.

The other question is whether we now, through our own efforts and our own decree, will repeal this, or whether it is to be left to the republic. One can note that the republic thinks that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet will before 1 October 1989 examine the question of bringing this into line with the constitution. There is such a proposal in the republic in question. Why shouldn't we do that? I believe we could do this while absolutely maintaining our principled position. Our principled position. Concerning...[changes thought] I

believe that once this document is passed, we could on the one hand say that the republic considers invalid the anti-strike provision or decision that was passed, and at the same time call presumably on the strikers to end their strike. I believe that is what must be done.

[Lukyanov] Very well? Anybody else, comrades? Enough? Yes? [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Gives Closing Speech

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[TASS report: "The Law—Foundation of Life in a Rule-of-Law State"; speech by Anatoliy Lukyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, closing the 16 August session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in Moscow—from the recorded relay]

[Text] Allow me to say a few words. Concluding the exchange of opinions that has taken place, I think that it can be stated that it was of a comradely nature but was based on principle. This is understandable because we are all, each of us both disturbed and very much put on our guard by the exacerbation in interethnic relations in a number of regions in our country. How can this exacerbation be halted? I think we are all proceeding from general positions. The way to solve this problem is indissolubly connected with strengthening the Soviet federation, our socialist federation, and not with shaking its foundations. This strengthening of the Soviet federal structure should, of course, progress, above all by imbuing the sovereign rights of the union republics with real content, by eradicating deformations that have taken shape and superfluous centralization, by carefully taking into account the interests, the historical peculiarities and cultural peculiarities of each republic and each of our peoples, and undoubtedly by strengthening the guarantees of equal rights for citizens of whatever nationality they may be. It is on this basis only that the union of soviet republics will be strengthened and that its most important functions—without which the existence of a strong contemporary socialist state is practically impossible—will develop.

This is our party position, the platform for its national policies that will be discussed in the very near future at the upcoming party Central Committee plenum. This platform has been prepared; the republics are discussing it already. Of course, problems as complicated and difficult as interethnic issues, issues of interethnic relations, appear to be, may be discussed and resolved only in a calm and constructive setting. The stimulation of national passions, the tension in relations between the indigenous and nonindigenous populations of the republics, and the interethnic clashes only complicate the resolution of these issues, which, let us say frankly, are very difficult anyway.

To be honest, I had to speak on more than one occasion, both to the Estonian comrades and to other representatives from our Baltic republics, about how important it is now to involve all the population in these republics, people's fronts, and other public movements in the common work to establish here economic methods of managing the national economy, introducing republican financial autonomy and enhancing the initiative of the provinces, local power bodies, and so on. I think that this is precisely the best medicine for any kind of deviations in the interethnic relations and the best test of the genuine objectives of any movement with a national slant.

It is the work, it is first and foremost the work on perestroyka, on implementing perestroyka and on forging ahead with it that is the main thing that can reduce interethnic tension in any republic.

But does the struggle, which has been unleashed around the draft of electoral reform in Estonia, promote this? Well, let's put this question to ourselves! No, it is holding back the implementation of our plans and makes us deal with problems that are far from the pivotal, the main policy of perestroyka.

It is even worse when interethnic passions are heated on two sides, when people who justly believe in respecting the rights of the minority in the Soviet Union cease to indentify themselves with the rights of the national minority as soon as this affects intrarepublican interests. And here the Leninist instruction about the obligations of the majority of the population, of the indigenous nation, toward the minority and towards the population of other nationalities on the republican territory, is being completely, completely—I'd say—forgotten. The methods being employed have not always been well thought out, and the norms of the all-union legislation are being violated. After all, this is not the first time that we have met and encountered this violation comrades, and not only in the practice, say, of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. This practice has existed in our country in other cases, and on more than one occasion. The innovations, which are far from being democratic and which—if they come into force—will lead to a serious exclusion of a considerable portion of voters from participation in the elections, from participation in the political process are submitted to us in the period for expanding democracy. The question was put here and different figures were given each time. The strikers give the figure of 80,000 people. Pardon me, but this is a high figure, it is a grave figure. Perhaps it is lower, but all the same, it is a grave figure. [noise from audience] And it is clear that entire groups of the population, regardless of their nationality, will be hereby placed in an unequal situation.

Naturally, in these conditions the USSR, the union authorities cannot remain silent. They are simply duty-bound to have their say, all the more so because we are under a tremendous pressure from letters, telegrams, and

all sorts of appeals that have lately been arriving both at the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers not only from the Baltic republics but also from all corners of the country.

I would like to add that the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decisions generated no enthusiasm among foreign experts on electoral law, since they do not conform with the trends prevailing all over the world, especially in the last few decades. The essence of these trends is not a narrowing but, on the contrary, an expansion of electoral rights and the body of voters. Residence qualifications are being cut back all over the world, they are being swept away. They are altogether nonexistent in socialist countries. No such qualification has existed in our country. Therefore, you can understand the critical evaluations made in the world of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet decisions. You all have obviously read about this in the press.

The conclusions we reached today, at our sitting today, are, in my view, both convincing and incontrovertible. The Soviet Constitution, its demands that citizens have equal rights and are equal in law, must be observed without fail. There is no other way. The Constitution is in force and for as long as it is in force, it must be observed, for as long as it remains unchanged.

Yes, you have decided to have the Constitution changed. This will be made imperative also by the changes in the electoral legislation of the union republics.

This decision has been taken. The commission in charge of drafting these changes has, as you know, already had a session quite recently and the outlines of these changes are already on hand. I think that in the very near future we will present them both to the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Supreme Soviet, and the latter will decide how we shall pass these changes, to give a green light to the changes yet to come to the republican legislation.

Moreover, comrades, something else must also be noted here: After all, we have repeatedly discussed these questions with the republican leadership, including Comrade Ryuytel, in particular on 22 July, when a session, a conference of the chairmen of the presidiums of supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics was held, incidentally at the Supreme Soviet's behest, during which all nuances of the electoral legislation being drafted in the republics were thoroughly examined. We then drew up a document at the conference that provides for this decision to have many variants. And it was supported at the conference. Moreover, our Estonian comrades were recommended in this document, very correctly, to review the clauses of the draft law limiting the electoral rights of citizens and placing qualifications on them. However, this proposal, as you see, was not implemented, although I should say that the Presidium strove there to implement our accords. The same fate also befell the official representations and the official conclusions on the draft laws that were published and sent from the Supreme Soviet Presidium to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. So in my view quite enough patience and benevolence has been shown on this occasion.

At the same time, I think that we should look at that situation, at the problem we are discussing today, not only from legal but also from political positions. Put simply, the status of the Supreme Soviet Presidium itself obliges us to do this. That is, from the point of view of giving guarantees, strengthening guarantees for the principles of the existence of our federation, and from the point of view of strengthening the foundations of the socialist social structure. The principles of the Soviet federation are, first and foremost, the equality of the rights and duties of people of any nationality on the whole territory of our country. Without this Soviet federalism is simply unthinkable—all the more so as the equality of citizens' rights emanates from the very essence of our Soviet socialist structure, and not only from the essence of this structure but also from international agreements we have ratified.

It is not difficult to imagine what would happen if each republic now started to limit the rights of the citizens of the nonindigenous population on its territory in some way. What would this lead to? I think it is clear that this would turn out to be the cause of universal discord in the country, in our federation. This is why the defense of principles, equality of rights, and the equality of citizens of any nationality in law in the Constitution remains for us a union-wide cause. Both the republics and their whole union have equal interests in these principles. Comrades, I consciously bring attention to this element as we are speaking here not about the republics' relations with Moscow or the USSR, as people sometimes try to affirm; we are speaking above all about the relations of every republic with other republics with equal rights that only together comprise the USSR. The portrayal of the union only as Moscow, as a kind of particularly centralized force opposing the republics, is often used with far from plausible purposes, and we are well aware of this. It is used to inflame passions, to weaken trust in the center and—let us speak frankly—to disparage what the Soviet federation has given each Soviet people, each Soviet nation, each Soviet ethnic group.

At the same time, there naturally is a foundation on which not only the federation is based, but the whole of the socialist social system. From its very inception, this system, as is known, is based on reflecting the interests of the working people of all nationalities, first, and of the working class.

It has already been mentioned here that the changes in Estonian election legislation have affected a number of major labor collectives. And in Estonia a large part of the really big collectives consist of people speaking another language, considerable numbers of them. And they have responded to that, let us put it bluntly, with the most

extreme, and, let us put it bluntly, absolutely unacceptable methods for the given situation. They have responded with a strike. But, all the same, one should here always bear in mind, comrades, that even what seems to be the most insignificant restriction of the lawful rights of people of different nationalities, of workers, and labor collectives cannot be considered as something that is apart from the common foundations of our country's socialism.

Yes, any kind of pitting of the interests of the working class against those of other strata of the population is unacceptable to us. Yes, we reject any kind of attempt to drive a wedge between the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. But, at the same time, our party, our state, were, and remain, the exponents of the will of the working class and of the whole of the working people. They were, and remain, the bearers of their democratic ideology, their internationalist principles and views. And no one should have any doubt about that. Certain comrades have already noted here that the innovations regarding the legislation on elections in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic have also affected servicemen and their representation in the local soviets. One asks whether it is necessary to tear military collectives away from participating in the political life of the country. Is it necessary to weaken their ties with the population, with the labor collectives? I think that the answer is clear. In any event, the working people, the whole of our people, do not need any of that. Support for, and the qualitative renewal of, the Soviet army, the improvement of it as a school of internationalism, as a school of patriotism, are precisely the tasks that are being set for the country's armed forces by our party and our state. Nor can we give up this standpoint either, comrades. It is for this reason that the amendments to the electoral legislation that have been adopted in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic are, in my opinion, unacceptable to us not only from the legal position, but from political standpoints as well.

On the whole, they lead to aggravation of the situation both in the national sense and the social sense; to aggravation that is in fact contraindicatory to our movement along the path of perestroyka. And we hope that the leadership of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and its Supreme Soviet will weigh, again and again, all the national and social aspects of the decisions that they have adopted, and will find the strength to overcome the present position. But, comrades, it is quite obvious that the republic's strike committee should also take its share of responsibility in resolving this issue. It is only possible to ease the situation and to unravel all these, the highly complex knot that has formed there, by meeting halfway, only through dialogue. There is practically no other path.

I think it will be correct if the Presidium establishes at today's session that the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic has changed, revoked, its decision of 10 August with regard to the strikers. You have this decision. And, of course, this gives us grounds to propose, to ask, our comrades to think through again and again all matters relating to the strike; to call a halt to the strike. This is no solution to the matter. It is a path leading nowhere.

A draft has been handed to you, one before the sitting, and there is one other draft of the decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The second version of this decree was prepared in connection with what was stated here by Comrade Ryuytel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

It seems to me that the difference between these two decrees lies, above all, in two things. First, a detailed, descriptive part has been omitted in which all these points are named, but today they have been named at the sitting, named by the minister of justice, and have been handed on once again to our Estonian comrades. Therefore this descriptive part could be somewhat reduced. And second, I think we will be right if we do, after all, take on board the remarks of Comrade Ryuytel to the effect that this decision will be examined a second time. Therefore, from the juridical point of view, it seems to me that our attitude has been very accurately formulated here, and quite definitely, our attitude to the decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

It seems to me, however, that Comrade Tsybukh was right when he said here that the second point should also be supplemented by a mention of the fact that the Estonian comrades must also make their laws correspond to international legal documents which have been ratified by the Soviet Union. This is all the more the case because it is consequent upon the text of the Estonian Constitution itself.

This, then, is what our decision could look like and let us read it prior to voting:

On the basis of Point 5 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, which makes it incumbent upon the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to exercise control over the observance of the USSR's Constitution and to ensure that the constitutions and laws of the union republics are in keeping with the USSR's Constitution and laws, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that certain provisions of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's laws of 8 August 1989 concerning the introduction of changes and supplements to the Constitution—the Basic Law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and concerning the elections to the local soviets of people's deputies of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic which establish residence qualifications for taking part in the elections and for being elected to the soviets of people's deputies and which also place restrictions on servicemen taking part in the elections—are not in keeping with the USSR Constitution.

The above norms of the Estonian SSR laws also violate human rights, enshrined in international legal acts ratified by the USSR, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which envisages that every citizen should, without any discrimination whatsoever and without unjustified restrictions, have the right and opportunity to vote and be elected during authentic periodic elections, based upon universal and equal suffrage with secret ballot; elections that safeguard an unconstrained expression of the voters' will.

In connection with what has been set out, and guided by Articles 74 and 76 of the USSR's Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decides:

1. To deem the first part of Article 3 and the first part of Article 4 of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic 8 August 1989 Law on Introducing Changes and Supplements to the Constitution—the basic Law of the Estonian SSR—the first and third parts of Article 2 and Article 8 of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic 8 August 1989 Law on the Elections of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, as incompatible with the USSR's Constitution and with the USSR's international legal obligatons.

2. To take cognizance of the fact that the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium will, by 1 October 1989, have put forward for the examination by the Republican Supreme Soviet the question of bringing the above-mentioned norms of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's Constitution and laws into line with the USSR's Constitution and with the international legal documents ratified by the USSR.

Such a document, including the amendments put forward by the comrades, could be adopted. Who is for adopting the draft decree that I have read, please, raise your hands. Please, lower your hands. Who is against? Any abstentions? [indistinct remarks from the floor]

Two comrades have abstained. So, by a majority vote—two thirds of the Presidium composition is present here—the decreee has been adopted.

Reportage Continues on Strikes in Estonia

Situation 'Explosive'

PM1708143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Dispatch by "our correspondent" Leonid Levitskiy under the rubric "Direct Link; IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teletype": "At the Conference Table"]

[Text] Tallinn—Early on Thursday morning [17 August] I used a private taxi to get to the center of Tallinn. Although rates approved by the city soviet executive committee were hanging in the cabin I had to pay double. There is still a shortage of buses—many drivers are continuing the strike. Taxi fares are increasing.

The strikes have filled people's hearts with alarm. So it is a pity that the transmission late on Wednesday [16 August] evening of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting which examined the question of the recently adopted Estonian laws was broadcast by Central Television without warning and not everyone could see it....

To judge by the first reports the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree which was adopted has been welcomed with understanding in the republic. In such an explosive situation it should probably have been very considered. But the range of opinion is wide.

The strike is continuing in the republic. So far only one large enterprise, "Punane Ret," which produces radios and electronic articles, has suspended the strike.

The strike committees council sat late into the night. It suggested to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Estonian Government that they begin talks immediately. The initiative has been supported. People's deputies of the USSR who have come to Estonia will take part in the talks.

A recent report: A further three enterprises have joined the strike. The decision to continue or end the strike will be taken after the first day of the talks, that is late at night. One thing obviously has to be done—the quest for paths toward mutual agreement, confrontation is costing too much.

Party Leader Meets Strikers

LD1708120589 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpts] A political strike has been under way in Estonia since last week. The leader of the Republican Communist Party Vaino Valjas has admitted at a meeting with representatives of the strikers that the political and economic situation in Estonia is critical and ethnic relations are extremely tense. The republic has lost five million rubles as a result of the strike, caused by the legislation on national sovereignty, state language, and local elections passed in Estonia. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet have begun to search for a compromise in Estonia's capital, Tallinn. Vaino Valjas has urged the strikers to resume a dialogue and suspend the strike for a period of negotiations. However, the strike committee has rejected the proposals until the official adoption of compromise decisions.

Leaders Meet With Strike Committee

LD1708182889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the republican strike committee and republican leaders began in Tallinn today [17 August]. The republican leadership is represented by: Ryuytel, chairman of the ESSR [Estonian

Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium; Toome, chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers; Pedak, chairman of the ESSR Trade Union Council; Upsi, secretary of the ESSR Communist Party Central Committee; Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn City Committee of the party; Veskivyali, first deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers; and Almann, secretary of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Tarazevich, chairman of the Committee for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR people's deputies from Estonia are taking part in the meeting with representatives of the strikers.

In Kohtla-Jarve a meeting of the town strike committee was held at which it was decided to halt the strike at Kohtla-Jarve and to send their representatives to take part in talks between members of the republican strike committee and the republican leadership. The enterprises in Kohtla-Jarve started working at 1400 [1000 GMT]. Two enterprises in the town were still not working by 1700, local time [1300 GMT].

In Tallinn, the republican strike committee reported that it would decide by ballot the question of ending the strike.

End of Strikes Announced 18 Aug

LD1808105789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Tallin, 18 Aug (ETA-TASS)—This morning the republican council of strike committees announced the end of the strikes in connection with the talks that have been started between the leadership of Estonia and the strikers' representatives. A group of USSR deputies is also taking part in the talks.

Recounting the course of the talks, Arno Almann, secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, informed the ETA correspondent that the strikers are not satisfied with the presidium's measures regarding improving the political situation; the personal composition of the group of experts, which are to take into account the opinions and interests of the minority and some other elements, are not to their liking.

Nevertheless, yesterday afternoon, immediately after the talks started, striking enterprises in Kokhtla-Yarve, an industrial center in northeast Estonia, started working.

The reason for the strike is the law on elections to the local soviets that Estonia passed in August. It envisages the introduction of a residence qualification for the electorate and deputies and thereby encroaches upon the rights of part of the nonindigenous population. At the Wednesday [16 August] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session a number of articles in this law were acknowledged as not corresponding with the country's constitution or to international law.

Railways Minister Interviewed

PM1708145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Minister of Railways N. Konarev by R. Ignatyev under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Situation on the Railroads"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] In connection with the events taking place in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Transcaucasus republics, there is a great situation on these regions' railroads right now. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked N. Konarev, minister of railways, to describe the situation that has taken developed.

[Konarev] The strike at the Tallinn enterprises has been continuing for several days now. Over 700 loaded cars have already accumulated at the railroad junction. In addition, dozens of trains are waiting on sidings. Thus, 34 trains are awaiting reception at the Estonian railroad department and 20 at the Oktyabrskaya railroad stations. They include industrial goods and food intended for Estonia and for export. There are 500 cars loaded with coal standing idle. And that means that tomorrow the miners will have nothing in which to ship their output.

The freight includes food that spoils rapidly and essential equipment...

As a whole, about 3,000 cars have been taken out of work just because of the strike. Yet now is a busy time. The grain from the new harvest is coming in. And the grain carriers are standing idle. In brief, today every car counts. The railroad workers are doing everything possible to dispatch freight as rapidly as possible. But the strike in Estonia is complicating the situation, which is affecting the work of the country's entire rail economy.

On 16 August a meeting of the strike committee took place. But it has not yet succeeded in reaching agreement on anything. The situation here remains complex.

Freight and passenger train traffic on the Azerbaijan railroad's Mindzhevan-Nakhichevan-Norashen sector was completely paralyzed from 27 July through 4 August because of interethnic clashes. Then traffic was restored and suspended again from 8 through 10 August. And although rolling stock has again passed along this sector, which is over 200 km long, the situation has not yet been completely stabilized. Earlier a rail bridge had been destroyed by persons unknown near Stepanakert. On the night of 15-16 August over 200 people went on the track at Velidag Station to prevent traffic. Not far from

Karchivan station, at the 384-kilometer mark, an attempt was made to blow up a railroad bed. But the criminal was blown up while planting the "bomb."

Because of interruptions in traffic of this kind on the Transcaucasus, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Donetsk, and Volga railroads there are now stoppages—145 trains have been held up. We are doing everything possible to continue work even under these complex conditions.

It becomes obvious from all these examples that interference in the activity of rail transport leads to destabilization in the movement of trains, generates dissatisfaction among the population, and undermines the processes of perestroyka

Estonia Needs 'Dialogue, Compromise'

PM1708135989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 p 1

[Special correspondent I. Virabov report: "Tallinn, 16 August"]

[Text] Moscow-Tallinn—"What's going on?" I asked workers at Sheremetyevo Airport yesterday. "Why has the Moscow-Tallinn flight been held up?"

The reply was trivial: "Owing to the aircraft's late arrival."

But the situation in Tallinn is not trivial. It is not hard to see this. Airport workers, as well as rail workers, are out on strike. Telephones have been cut off, special trains [liternyye reysy; on which ordinary passengers pay but troops travel free in reserved, lettered, cars] have been canceled, and there has been disruption to ordinary passenger train timetables.

Yesterday evening two major sea ports—the Tallinn and Novotallinnskiy ports—declared their solidarity with the strike movement.

B. Popov, deputy chief of the Tallinn Commercial Port, explained:

"Initially work stopped completely, only vital services for the enterprise itself were provided. Then, with the strike committee's permission, foreign ships were allowed to dock. Nonetheless, there have been losses..."

Fifty three major enterprises in Tallinn are now "idle." One of the republic strike committee's demands has been fulfilled. A group of USSR people's deputies has arrived to try to investigate what is happening. After all, strikes are not a way out of or a solution to highly complex problems. The group is headed by G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations.

The people's deputies have already met with representatives of the strike committee, the united labor collective council, and the International Movement.

Today's republic Estonian- and Russian-language newspapers published the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic resolution on the formation of a panel of experts to study the proposals from deputies from the nonindigenous population.

One thing is clear: We now need to find a way out of the situation. This will require consideration for the opinions of the majority and the minority. We need dialogue, compromise, and mutual understanding.

Anticrime Committee Session Held 17 Aug

Yakovlev, Others Give Reports

PM1808101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Committee Sitting"]

[Text] A routine session of the Soviet ad hoc anticrime committee was held 17 August under the chairmanship of A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

V.S. Bodyakshin, chairman of the Gorkiy City Soviet Executive Committee, and V.A. Potapov, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration of the Gorkiy Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, delivered a report on the organization of the fight against crime, the practice of setting up workers' detachments to assist the militia in the city, and on their activity. Such detachments are being set up on a strictly voluntary basis by citizens themselves, who aspire to take an active part in fighting crime and to ensure proper law and order. Accumulated experience shows that in the difficult circumstances of the rising crime rate in the city, workers' detachments can actively assist in maintaining law and order; promote improvement in the situation, in the fight against drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug addiction; and ensure the safety of state and public property, as well as citizens' private property. The work of local, residential detachments strengthens the possibility of preventing crimes.

The legal education of the working people is an important area of the detachments' activity. Detachment members are themselves given a certain amount of legal training and the necessary skills of social self-management. At the same time it is a form whereby the working people can check the work of the law-enforcement bodies, something which helps to increase their mutual responsibility for the fight against crime which, in turn, strengthens the confidence of the population in the work of these bodies

After it expressed support for the initial experience of the workers' detachments, the ad hoc committee recommended that it be developed and spread to other regions of the country, taking into account the specific local features.

It was concluded that it is necessary to develop public initiative to the utmost, to use both new and tested forms and methods of the interaction of law-enforcement bodies and the public in their fight against crime. It was stressed that the activities of the voluntary detachments of citizens to ensure public order must be strictly within the limits of the law and comply with the requirements of normative acts that regulate the rights and duties of the voluntary people's militia detachments, and lean on the wide support of the Soviet people.

It was noted at the session the the work of the ad hoc anticrime committees locally and in the republics has begun. In fulfilling their tasks, the committees act in line with the Soviet Constitution and the laws of the USSR and the union republics. Without assuming the functions of the law-enforcement bodies, they should organize work decisively to strengthen law and order and to wage a struggle against violations of the law. The coordinating functions of the procuracy remain; that goes without saying. However, as was pointed out at the session, it is important not to drown this living activity in endless speeches. What is required of the committees today is: clearly setting goals, efficiently reacting to the situation, approaching everything in a business-like manner.

Close contact and interaction among the procuracy, internal affairs, state security, justice bodies, and the courts must occur everywhere and must significantly raise their effectiveness. This must also apply to the full and exhaustive registration of legal infringements, the effective detection and investigation of crimes, and the timely and high-quality examination of court cases. The extension of material and technical assistance to law-enforcement bodies, and the strengthening of their cadres with competent and honest workers is an important condition for making the aforementioned measures effective.

The committee pointed out the need to fully utilize the authority of people's deputies and the potential of people's volunteer squads, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] operational detachments, public order maintenance points, crime prevention councils, comrades' courts, and other public formations. Public discipline needs to be strengthened in every way by actively using law enforcement bodies and social organizations to fight crime with joint patrols by militiamen and representatives of work collectives.

Emphasis was placed on the importance of paying increased attention to political-organizational, economic, social, cultural, and educational aspects of fighting crime and to questions of crime prevention, the provision of jobs for unemployed persons, especially young people and people without a definite place of residence, the reforming and reeducation of convicts, and the social adaptation of people recently released from detention.

All-around and truthful coverage in the mass media of measures to strengthen law and order, propaganda based specific and vivid examples of positive experience of that work, the raising of the prestige of law enforcement bodies, and the strengthening of their authority, should promote raising the efficiency of the struggle against crime.

From the very beginning, measures should have a tangible result. It is essential that Soviet people should soon feel tangible progress in the struggle against crime, that they should be convinced that every person who has committed a crime will inevitably be subjected to just punishment. The acuteness of the situation requires this, and the interests of perestroyka and the people expect this from Soviet power.

The committee heard reports by V.V. Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister; Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR State Security Committee; A.D. Vasilyev, USSR first deputy procurator general; and V.F. Yakovlev, USSR justice minister; on measures to fulfill the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision of 4 August 1989 "On the Resolute Intensification of the Struggle Against Crime." The attention of leaders of law-enforcement bodies was once more focused on the need to take immediate firm and energetic measures to make it possible to achieve a drastic change in the situation in the struggle against crime.

Reports by representatives of the USSR's State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and the USSR Gossnab [State Committee For Material and Technical Supply] on the measures being taken to equip internal affairs bodies with cars, portable means of communication, helicopters, and other up-to-date technology and equipment were also heard.

Citizen Involvement Considered

LD1708152389 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—The Soviet ad hoc anticrime committee held one of its regular meetings today, chaired by First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Heads of Soviet and law enforcement agencies from the city of Gorkiy reported on efforts to combat crime and on the creation and activities of workers' detachments assisting the militia. Such detachments have been set up on a strictly voluntary basis by citizens concerned about the rising crime rate and the need to enforce order.

Having supported the first experience of workers' detachments, the committee recommended its development in other regions, taking into account local needs.

The need to develop public initiatives, to use both new and tested forms and methods of the interaction of law-enforcement agencies and the public in combatting crime, was stressed.

The meeting was told that ad hoc committees have begun work in republics and localities. The committees act in line with the Soviet Constitution, the laws of the USSR and union republics. Without substituting for law-enforcement bodies they work to strengthen law and order and combat crime.

Comprehensive and objective coverage by the mass media of crime-fighting measures should serve to enhance the efficiency of anti-crime efforts, the meeting was told.

Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin, Supreme Court Chairman Yevgeniy Smolentsev, Chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security (KGB) Vladimir Kryuchkov, First Deputy Procurator-General Aleksey Vasilyev and Soviet Justice Minister Venyamin Yakovlev reported on the fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on resolute measures to combat crime, passed on August 4, 1989.

Bakatin Cited

LD1808010889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A meeting of the interim committee on combating crime was held in the Kremlin today [17 August]. Here is a report by our correspondent.

[A. Krutov] Crime is such as the society that has given rise to it, juridical science says. The administrative-command system, the shadow economy, the loss of spiritual ideals, hard-heartedness and intolerance, the gap between word and deed and a shortage of everything, especiality of morality, has turned everything topsy-turvy. The speculator and the extortioner have become benefactors. People have begun to envy persons living on non-labor incomes and to envy their skill at living. The moral that everything in this world can be bought and sold has ceased to evoke condemnation from many people, and the criminals have issued a challenge to society. Our time has arrived, they are saying. For the first time in the past 20 years over 1 million crimes were registered in the first 6 months of the year; 32 percent more than the previous year. We have seen that crime has become widespread and its brutality and level of organization have struck at the structure of power. How is the crime wave to be halted? This was the subject of the discussion today in the committee.

The committee heard about Gorkiy inhabitants' experience in setting up workers' detachment to assist the militia.

[Krutov] This for the time being is the only positive experience that has been found for the country as a whole. The increase in crime has, after all, encompassed all the republics without exception.

[V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs] What the Supreme Soviet demanded has occurred, namely, a resolute increase in the fight against crime within the framework of and on the basis of existing legislation. All that remains is that it is necessary to simply stop being afraid. I myself was at one settlement department, where there were 20 militiamen and 10 pistols. Where were the pistols? The pistols were being kept in the safe, they said. Why are the pistols being kept in the safe? So that nothing happens, they answered. This is the syndrome one gets when people say let us put steel doors and bars on the militia department and let us sit there in case, heaven forbid, you go out and some hooligan, as they say, suddenly and unexpectedly comes after you, you know. Do not cross the street when you see a hooligan. We need to continue walking on the same side of the street. We are all avoiding this fight. The fight needs to be stepped up. This line, I repeat, is now being energetically pursued through the political directorate and through the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Krutov] Leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Procurator's Office, the Justice Department, the KGB, People's Control, and the Supreme Court reported on immediate concrete plans to combat crime. Representatives of the State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply reported on implementation of the Supreme Soviet decisions.

The chairman of the interim committee, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, stressed:

[Lukyanov] The main thing for the committee is the fight against crime as a social phenomenon, uniting all forces and all possibilities and organizing these forces for the fight. This is how I see our task, above all. That is the first point. Second, it is certainly to [changes thought] indeed, the phrase "inactivity of power syndrome" has been used here and it is certainly a snydrome of inactivity by those bodies which by law should be acting, and acting realistically and in an aggressive way. It is very important that both the committee here in the center and the committees locally implement this and enhance the role of these bodies that should be acting. Unfortunately, this is a syndrome that has become very widespread, which certain comrades link with democracy. No, democracy is a very powerful thing and a very strong force that should bring order. Without this, democracy does not exist. I think that only then will one be able to speak of the organization not as a fight against crime but as a war on crime; the most real type, not of defensive war but offensive war. This is indeed the role of the

committees: to organize this matter and not substitute for a single law-enforcement body or for those people who are obliged to be accountable for combating law violations, declarations of false figures, mismanagement, and so forth.

Bakatin Interviewed

PM1708090889 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[Interview with USSR Internal Affairs Minister V.V. Bakatin by our correspondent A. Dyatlov under the rubric "Topical!": "With the Full Force of the Law"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution "On Resolutely Stepping Up the Struggle Against Crime." We have recently received many letters from readers on this worrying subject: "How soon can the crime wave be stopped?"

We asked Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, who opened our newspaper's rubric "USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Column," to comment on the resolution and answer your questions. But the conversation would not fit into the 120 lines allotted to the column in the newspaper.

[Bakatin] First, I would like to apologize to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers for the involuntary pause: I opened the "column," and then fell silent. of course, it is necessary to take into account the prolonged period during which I was only a "candidate minister," and also what has been happening in the country recently has forced me to postpone very important matters in favor of emergencies.

You often provide militia statistics in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, so I will not repeat myself, I will only cite two figures: Compared with the first 7 months of last year, this year the number of crimes recorded has increased by one-third, totaling 1,292,905!

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Academy recently conducted a poll, and approximately one-fourth of those polled said that the reason for the deterioration in law and order (that is, the basis of the crime wave) is the development of democracy and glasnost. However, three-fourths of those polled do not share this view. Here I am on the side of the majority.

Perestroyka is a difficult matter, there are many "by-product" phenomena. Lawbreakers actively take advantage of glasnost and democracy, as they take advantage of economic instability and emergencies—be they interethnic difficulties or tragedies caused by disasters. That is how it is. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that people think we should declare not simply a struggle against crime, but a war on it. And in this respect the resolution is very clear and timely.

[Dyatlov] Vadim Viktorovich, readers who have telephoned us in recent days share that view. But some ask: "Resolutely stepping up the struggle"—is that not too close to the formulas "exceptional powers" and "emergency measures"? In the past these have often resulted in cruelty and disregard for the law.

[Bakatin] A fair and clear question. And I will give a clear answer: The militia is not being given any "emergency" powers. And we have not demanded them. True, we are instructed to formulate a number of very resolute measures for combating crime, first and foremost organized crime. But (and I emphasize this) strictly within the framework of the rule of law, on the basis of the existing laws.

[Dyatlov] In that case, what about the disputes over the fact that the militia cannot resolve many of the problems because it is largely without rights. We have letters from militia members: "Who will give us legal protection?"

[Bakatin] I know about that, I myself have often said the same. The following figure also emerged from the poll: More than 90 percent of militia workers polled consider their legal protection inadequate.

[Dyatlov] Add to that the many simply obsolete legal norms, the need for a revision of criminal legislation in general....

[Bakatin] Yes, legislation is changing, so that it is fully in accordance with the nature, aims, and tasks of a rule-of-law state. But even today the militia has a solid legal basis for increasing its own authority and fulfilling its official duty actively and irreproachably. There are plenty of clear and specific legal norms to this end. The paradox is that we ourselves often do far from everything possible to make these norms operate effectively everywhere.

An example—last year there were 7,000 cases of people resisting militia workers. And how many lawbreakers were punished for this by the courts? Just over 4,000.

Not infrequently, the measures chosen to secure the appearance of the defendant are not appropriate to the gravity of the crime committed, and defendants evade investigation and trial and commit further crimes.

There are a good many unjustified disputes over the possible use of weapons by the militia, although these questions were resolved many years ago. A militiaman is by no means defenseless in opposing a criminal, he can and must use weapons in the circumstances stipulated by law. The criminals should know this, too. Demoralizing talk about the militiaman's defenselessness, far from benefiting the cause, in fact damages it. The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution is important precisely because it mobilizes all the forces of enforcement and application of the law.

Last week, after a session of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee on combating crime, the leaders of Moscow's internal affairs organs discussed measures to fulfill the resolution. It was noted unanimously that the main thing is to step up work in all militia components and react as quickly and powerfully as possible to every instance of hooliganism and every criminal act. The militia has strength. It must be used resolutely, as the law demands.

The resolution adopted is unusual and exceptional primarily in that the highest organ of power is saying to all of us—the militia, and the soviets, and the population: There has been enough talk about why crime is growing and enough exclaiming over statistics. The situation is acute. Everything relating to it is open. And since the soviets have taken power into their own hands, let them use it firmly and resolutely, instead of getting involved in ideas. That is the only way to win this battle. To win it on the basis of the law and the people's will and determination.

[Dyatlov] But, judging by the mail, many people regard the struggle against crime as a matter for the militia, the KGB, the prosecutor's office, and the courts.

[Bakatin] In the first instance—yes. But the militia was set up as a people's militia. This resolution sets as task number one the need for the soviet authorities to create ad hoc committees for combating crime.

[Dyatlov] Vadim Viktorovich, are you confident that it will work? To this day we have not disbanded the volunteer people's militia, the comradely courts, the Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] operational detachments, but.... When I speak about them I find it hard to use words like "authority" and "influence." What if this move misfires, too?

[Bakatin] Only an insurance policy can give you a 100-percent guarantee. But, to be serious, in terms of activeness, you are right, on the whole: 71 percent of young people and 67 percent of workers said in that same poll that they would not interfere if they witnessed a crime: "It is up to the militia"....

[Dyatlov] Excuse my interrupting, but on the other hand, I do not understand why the militia should concern itself with a great many things that are not really its job. From supervising adolescents and sorting out family quarrels to finding jobs for people released from prison. After all, that is primarily a matter for the soviets, the public, self-management committees, and so forth.

[Bakatin] I do not agree with you there! A good militiaman should be concerned with any "trifle" that relates to security and tranquility in people's lives. After all, we are (please note!) the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

But you are right: Many of the people who should be concerned with order, job finding, and adolescents, in the labor collectives, soviets, and social commissions, are indeed "not worried" about how to help families in difficulty or what to do about people of "no fixed abode"....

All the same, people show a great deal of activeness now. And that is healthy. Alongside the figures cited, I am prepared to present others: No crimes were committed in the first days of the strike in Mezhdurechensk, when the miners took law and order into their hands alongside the militia. Hundreds of highly active social organizations have appeared in Moscow in the last 2 years, and dozens of self-management organs in neighborhoods.

[Dyatlov] So you think that "informals" could also take part in the ad hoc committees.

[Bakatin] Why not? Anyone who can help the committees, and therefore the law enforcement organs, on the basis of goodwill and strictly within the framework of the law. The aktiv should be a wide one.

[Dyatlov] And young people?

[Bakatin] Especially them! Crime has grown younger, every third infringement and crime is committed by adolescents and young people under 30.

Youth means initiative. We have discussed these problems 100 times before, but very little has actually been done. So let us get on with the job. That is why the resolution places the emphasis on the local soviets: See what will be useful for you in your city or oblast, use your rights, draw on the support of the laws.

[Dyatlov] You spoke about ideas and suggestions. We know that a draft nationwide program for combating crime is being drawn up, and a draft law on the militia.

[Bakatin] As for the law and the program for combating crime, let us talk about that another time. We have plenty more conversations to come. We have virtually completed the draft law on the militia. We will not make a secret of it, we are counting on the help of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers in openly discussing it.

Members of Anticrime Committee Listed

PM1708173189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Composition of the Ad Hoc Committee on Combating Crime in the USSR"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] As part of the implementation of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 4 August 1989 "On Resolutely Intensifying the Struggle Against Crime" the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

That the following composition of the Ad Hoc Committee on Combating Crime in the USSR be confirmed:

Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee:
Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Members of the Ad Hoc Committee:
Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs;
Anatoliy Vladimirovich Borodulin, fitters' team leader at the Balashikhinskiy Mechanical Casting Plant and USSR people's deputy;
Nikolay Semenovich Glazkov, foreman-team leader at the Moscow Decorative Timepiece Plant and USSR people's deputy;
Igor Petrovich Zelinskiy, rector of the Odessa I.I. Mechnikov State University and USSR people's deputy;
Dmitriy Mikhaylovich Iovlev, fitter at the Leninskiy Komsomol Motor Vehicle Plant and USSR people's deputy;
Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee and USSR people's deputy;
Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Korshunov, fitters' team leader at the Tashkent V.P. Chkalov Aircraft Production Association and USSR people's deputy;
Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB;
Albert Anatolyevich Likhanov, writer, chairman of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Foundation Board and USSR people's deputy;
Viktor Andreyevich Lunev, lathe operator at the Moscow "Kompressor" Refrigerated Machine Building Plant and USSR people's deputy;
Innokentiy Ivanovich Maltsev, planer operator at the Moscow "Krasnyy Proletariy" Lathe Building Plant named for Yefremov and USSR people's deputy;
Viktor Ivanovich Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee and USSR people's deputy;
Ella Aleksandrovna Pamfilova, trade union committee chairman at the "Mosenergo" Production Association's Central Machine Repair Plant and USSR people's deputy;
Nina Mikhaylovna Piryazeva, electrical fitter at the Novosibirsk "Sibselmash" Production Association and USSR people's deputy;
Nikolay Semenovich Sazonov, party committee secretary at the Kama Truck Plant Automatic Lathe Production Unit and USSR people's deputy;
Yevgeniy Alekseyevich Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court;
Vladimir Yakovlevich Stadnik, shop chief at the Lukhovitsy Machine Building Plant and USSR people's deputy;
Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor and USSR people's deputy;
Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and USSR people's deputy;
Veniamin Fedorovich Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice;
Aleksandr Maksimovich Yakovlev, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute and USSR people's deputy.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, The Kremlin, 16 August 1989.

Measures To Stabilize Abkhaziya Continue

LD1708141889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] A report from the temporary press center of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry in Abkhaziya says the following: The party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies are undertaking measures to stabilize the situation in the autonomous republic. The explanatory work is continuing in labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence. The situation is being monitored. During the early hours of the morning on 17 August, 98 people were detained for violating the order about movement under the special regime conditions for citizens' conduct. In the field of criminal investigation, two crimes were registered—they have been detected. As a result of the measures being implemented by the internal affairs bodies, over the past 24 hours, 22 pieces of firearms were confiscated from the population and handed over voluntarily, while from 17 July to 16 August, that is over the past month, over 2,000 pieces have been confiscated, including 366 rifles.

In the town of Tkvarcleli, in a holiday home, there were detected and confiscated seven home-made explosive devices, ammunition, pistols, and a hunting rifle, which had not been registered, and ammunition for it. An investigation is under way. We wish to note that detectives from the internal affairs bodies alone have now finished the investigation of a number of criminal cases regarding persons who stored illegally weapons and ammunition—the cases have been sent off to court. We will remind you that citizens who have voluntarily handed in the firearms or ammunition stored by them illegally will be exempt from criminal responsibility in line with Article 238 of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic decree. The number of such people is growing daily.

Draft Law on Labor Disputes Discussed

LD1708133289 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] A draft law on labor disputes has been published in the Soviet press for a nationwide discussion. In a major departure from traditional thinking, that strikes are incompatible with socialist values, the draft envisages the right of workers to carry out industrial action. I asked Nikolay Gorshkov of our staff if this heralds a U-turn in attitudes to labor relations in the Soviet Union.

[Begin recording] [Gorshkov] Not in legal terms. The peculiar thing is that strikes were never banned in this country, although the right to strike wasn't on the books as well. Strikes were considered essentially a weapon in the class struggle in the capitalist society and since our workers were supposed to own the factories they worked at, strikes were declared an obvious nonsense. We are now beginning to realize that managerial bureaucracy in a Socialist state may be as far removed from the toiling masses as a financial tycoon is from working hands in a market economy and their interests do not necessarily meet. This discrepancy is really at the heart of the tense econmic, social, and political situation we are now faced with. So to admit that Soviet workers are entitled to defend their interests and rights against managerial infringement with all legally accepted means, including strikes, is really a U- turn in psychological terms, in our understanding of the nature of labor relations in a Socialist economy.

[Announcer] Would you believe that such a U-turn was brought about by the summer of industrial unrest in our country and above all by strikes in mining communities across the Soviet Union?

[Gorshkov] Only on the face of it. Of course miners' strikes have revealed a major crisis in labor relations but strikes have been going on for quite some time in various parts of the country. Just remember Armenia and the region of Nagorno-Karabakh in neighboring Azerbaijan. The thing is that not all of those strikes were related to labor disputes. Some of them to my mind were political. Take the recent example of stoppages by Russian speaking workers in Estonia. They are not concerned with their working conditions, which are largely better than in many other areas of the country; what they demand is abrogation of the latest laws passed by the Estonian Supreme Soviet, the Republic's parliament. But this is a political matter to be resolved by political means through parliamentary procedures and through people's deputies elected by those workers. So while we have been drifting for quite some time towards accepting the workers' right to strike, the more recent developments have prompted us to try to define under what conditions can this right be exercised.

[Announcer] Is the new draft law clear about it?

[Gorshkov] I would say yes. A strike, the draft says, is the workers' last resort, when all other means of negotiating a fair solution have failed. In a move to bring laws more in line with internationally accepted norms, the draft is based on the recommendations of the International Labor Organization, which unites governments, employers and trade unions of many countries of the world. This body recommends to begin solving any labor dispute with a conciliatory procedure. Should all efforts at reconciliation fail or should ministries and managers be dragging their feet on negotiated settlement, then a trade union or a working collective may consider the viability of a strike. Another important provision here is that the final decision to strike should be approved by a majority vote by the workers involved in the dispute. What's more, noone disagreeing with the decision, the draft says, might be pressed into succumbing to it.

[Announcer] Well it all sounds like the draft has accummulated all the experience in labour disputes around the world.

[Gorshkov] Not that much. The fact is that it was already submitted for approval at the recently closed session of the USSR Supreme Soviet but only to be sent back for further elaboration. That's why it has been published for a nationwide discussion. [end recording]

Moldavian Workers Discuss Language Law, Strike

LD1708125789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev, 17 Aug (MOLDAVIAN NEWS AGENCY—TASS)—Work collectives in Tiraspol, the second largest city in Soviet Moldavia, began work today. But the echoes of yesterday's 2-hour warning strike are making themselves heard. During work breaks at the city's enterprises and institutions, here and there debates arise on ways to solve the problems of relations between nationalities in the republic. The draft platform of the CPSU "The Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Present Conditions," published in the central newspapers today is being discussed with interest.

The strike was caused by the decision to approve the prepared draft laws on languages on 29 August at a session of the Moldavian Supreme soviet. These documents limit the non-Moldavians' rights and give advantages to the indigenous nationality. The working people of Tiraspol and other towns in Moldavia, where almost 40 percent of the population speak other languages, demand that the adoption of the draft laws be postponed, that there be preliminary discussion of a new version of the documents and that the proposals of the non-Moldavian-speaking population of the republic be considered in them.

The joint council of labor collectives of Tiraspol, which called the strike, has appealed to workers to eliminate its economic consequences as soon as possible. "We are convinced that strikes are an extreme measure for resolving matters under dispute," said Sergey Mikhaylov, co-chairman of the council. "But we were pushed into this by the extremely alarming sociopolitical situation that has arisen in the republic. We want the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet to know the view of the working class and to bear it in mind before taking such a crucial step as adopting laws on the state language.

Impact of Kuzbass Miners Strike Assessed

18280267 Moscow TRUD in Russian
3 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by TRUD special correspondents Yu. Kotlyarov and N. Nadezhdina: "The Hot Summer of Kuzbass"]

[Text] "Perestroyka was initiated from on high. Four years have passed, but the results thus far have been small. So, we decided that a push from below is needed," said Yu. Shikharev, deputy chairman of the Mezhdurechensk Strike Commitee and an operator of rock-extracting machines at the Shevyakov Mine, the very mine that was the first to stop work.

The strike—which has caused tens of millions of rubles in losses, enormous moral and material damage... and helping perestroyka? How do these two go together? However, by now it is clear: As a result of their resolute action, the miners have received an opportunity to work more efficiently. Does this not contribute to perestroyka? It is no accident that at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet it was said that, despite all the sharpness of the deeds of miners, their actions suggest the main conclusion. In conducting the economic reform, more resolute actions should be taken. M. Gorbachev said quite definitively: "...The workers are taking matters into their hands quite thoroughly. The entire drama of the events notwithstanding, this greatly inspires me." It turns out that they do go together... Perhaps, we need to stop and look around attentively in order to understand it better.

Short work stoppages occurred at some Kuzbass mines as early as early spring. The demands were the same as the ones voiced in July. At the time, they promised the miners to sort everything out and improve things. The presidium of the trade union council, while believing that the use of extreme measures in the environment of perestroyka is unacceptable, nonetheless supported the lawful demands of workers.

However, time went by, and the situation did not change. The workers of the Shevyakov Mine in Mezhdurechensk wrote a letter to the "Searchlight of Perestroyka." From there, it was referred to the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers, and subsequently, as the procedure is, to the terkom [territorial committee] and the Association "Yuzhkuzbassugol." A commission even arrived. Some of the demands were rejected right away; on the remaining ones, they recommended that the trade union committee "plan specific measures"... for improving the work of transportation and providing good-quality foodstuffs for the canteen. In a word, another pro forma response. After that, a group of workers headed by mining foreman V. Kokorin clearly formulated eight demands. Five hundred miners signed them. The papers were sent to the central committee of the trade union, to the party gorkom [city committee], and the mine director. The miners issued a warning: Work at the coal faces will cease unless the demands are met by 10 July.

On 4 July, the initiators were invited to an auditorium in which the council of the labor collective, the trade union committee, and the management of the mine were already assembled. A discussion began. Giving independence to the mine? This is a utopia, the ministry will not allow this... Paying bonuses for work at night and in the evening? Indeed, there is such a resolution, but there is no money; we transfer a large share of profits to the association... Furnishing soap? Where are we to get it... In this manner, they read six items. There was nothing further to wait for... The workers rose up and left.

As had been promised, on 10 July the night shift coming up from the stopes did not go home. The first and, subsequently, the day shift joined them. The strike committee was elected. On the next day, the collectives of the remaining enterprises of Mezhdurechensk joined the strike.

Subsequent events resembled a chain reaction. In a majority of the cities of the Kuzbass, 167 enterprises, almost 180,000 persons, were not working by the time the regional strike committee began negotiations with the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] (it was frequently called just the "government" commission, in the press as well).

The miners did not want to strike. Many people have told us so. They understood that a strike means losses, while only labor may bring affluence and improve the situation of the region. This is why they did everything possible in order to preserve the viability of mines. At the very peak, when a meeting of many thousands of people was under way in the main square of Kemerovo, one of the members of the strike committee took a microphone in order to announce: The bus is here; would those working in water removal and ventilation please go to the mine. They maintained order in the city as well. They organized workers' detachments, posted sentries on the roads, and closed down liquor stores...

The miners objected to other enterprises of the oblast taking part in the strike. Indeed, they were grateful for their solidarity; they would defend their demands as well. However, they believed that their work should not have been stopped, as this would have caused unnecessary complications. At the Sibirginskiy Opencast Mine—the one that supplies coal to the West Siberian Metallurgical Combine—the strike committee together with the technical services calculated the minimal amount of coal that the enterprise needed, and kept up the shipments so the blast furnaces would not stop. When someone from the so-called "Democratic Union" came to the speaker's stand, the mighty hum of voices interfered with his

speech, and the word of the workers sounded weightily over the square: We resolutely protest against the exploitation of our meeting for political, anti-Soviet purposes!

They became masters of the cities. Why were they not allowed to become masters in their mines for many years? The lion's share of profits went to the association, and the meager allowances from it were not even enough to build a residential house with internal financing. The ministry attempted to resolve all issues, and it did everything in order to prevent the labor collectives of mines from managing their business and funds. Instead, managerial structures grew tremendously. At the meeting in Kemerovo, the miners said, pointing at the huge building of the "Kuzbassugol" Association: This is where our profits are going! Lots of papers are written, but what about the results? Coal output increases year after year, but it remains in storage, is not shipped, and burns. Maybe that much is not needed? Why cannot the over-the-plan coal be sold at contract prices, to foreign customers as well, in order to generate funds for both the housing and the hospitals...

The shortage of day-care centers is acute; the schools still operate in three shifts. There are no amenities in the settlements; the children do not even have places to play. The roofs leak, the streets are cluttered, and lines for the necessities in the shops are many hours long... Where is the soviet power that should handle the local economy, where are the trade union committees that have a duty to defend the interests of toilers?

The miners' strike has made us take a different look at many things. V. Ovdenko, secretary of the Kemerovo Gorkom [city committee], told us: "After the spring actions, the party obkom [oblast party committee] passed a resolution: Participation in the strikes is incompatible with being a member of the CPSU. All of us understand that strikes are not a method of solving problems. Meanwhile, when the miners rose up, I went in the column with them to the Square of Soviets—I could not do otherwise—and then at the meeting I stepped up to the microphone and said that I support all of their demands completely." He was nervous even when he was telling us that. What was it—the unmistakable sense of the communist who always has to be with the people, the awareness that the city party organization also was to blame for the land of miners finding itself in this unenviable situation?...

When the workers at Sibirginskiy Opencast Mine decided to join the strike, they came to the party committee. Its secretary Yu. Yefimenko was the one to head the strike committee. The little room of the party committee became the place where the headquarters met. G. Bekker, secretary of the Raspadskaya Mine party committee, was elected to the Mezhdurechensk strike committee; secretary of the party committee of Kedrovka Auto Pool B. Ivanov became a member of the regional committee... Unfortunately, they were few...

What about the heads of trade union committees? We have asked many people: How did the trade union activists behave when the miners stopped work and made their uncompromising demands? Here are some of the answers:

V. Tabakov, excavator operator, member of the strike committee at the Chernigovskiy Opencast Mine, from the city of Berezovskiy: "The chairman of our trade union committee, N. Zhidelev, SAT SILENTLY at the meeting at which the decision to strike was made, and then altogether disappeared when the meeting went on for 2 days in the square. Our guys came and said that they had seen him at a soccer game in the neighboring settlement."

T. Mizaylets, drifter at the Severnaya Mine in Kemerovo: "The deputy chairman of the trade union committee, M. Rogozin, displayed absolute passivity and complete LACK OF UNDERSTANDING. The collective gave him a vote of no confidence."

S. Malinovskiy, operator of underground installations of the imeni Lenin Mine in Mezhdurechensk: "Konyuk, the chairman of our trade union committee, is neither in favor nor against; he takes a wait-and-see attitude even now. He does not come to the meetings of the strike committee, and AGREES WITH THE MANAGEMENT on everything."

Certainly, there were others. When a strike committee was elected at the Berezovskaya Central Coal-Washing Plant, chairman of the trade union committee V. Shelenkov was the first to be nominated. Deputy chairman of the trade union committee electrician-fitter E. Osmolskiy, member of the trade union committee foreman A. Petrov, and chairman of the shop committee brigade leader B. Yermakov also became members of the strike committee. Perhaps it could not have happened otherwise, because the trade union committee has authority at the plant. During these difficult days as well, members of the trade union committee courageously assumed responsibility: patrolling by the workers' detachments, monitoring of trade, and the maintenance of the plant's viability. This is why the enterprise began operating at full capacity just several hours after the decision to call off the strike was made.

There are a good number of those who have not lost touch with the community of workers, who are respected for their actions rather than their positions. However, we should talk about the authority of the trade union organization rather than about individual activists. The trade union committees arranged meals for workers who spent days and nights in the squares, took care of transportation, and assisted with maintaining order—all of that is true. Before the strike, the Central Committee of the trade union submitted a number of demands of the workers to the Ministry of the Coal Industry—on a unified day off, on increased pay for night shifts... The

oblast trade union supported them as early as April—as you would recall. In the resolutions, everything was written correctly... Still, questions remain.

Chairman of the regional strike committee, USSR People's Deputy T. Avaliani, told us: "The trade unions had to work on the demands of toilers and submit them in an organized manner to those on whom meeting them depends." Indeed, why could the trade unions of the oblast not enter into negotiations with the ministries and, ultimately, the government on behalf of the workers? It could be that in this case the miners would not have had to resort to the strike...

Why did this not happen? Have they grown accustomed to taking into account the difficulties of economic managers, and look at the things with their eyes? Do they not have enough rights in order to oppose the dictate of ministries and fight for the actual improvement of the life of people? Be that as it may, we believe that the extremely acute issue is facing the trade unions: Either the trade unions will completely and entirely shift to the position of toilers, with the understanding that this is going to bring about inevitable, complex conflicts with the ministries and departments, or will keep trying to reconcile the irreconcilable—the defense of workers and the support for administrative organs, as has been the case; in this event, they will altogether lose the confidence of the masses, which may bring about the creation of some alternative trade unions...

After the strike, they tried to evaluate the lessons of it soberly and in a businesslike manner at the Kemerovo Trade Union Council. Chairman of the Oblsovprof V. Romanov told us: "We have set up a working group that will organize the monitoring of the execution of the Protocol on Coordinated Measures signed by the Moscow commission and the regional strike committee. We have recommended to the councils of labor collectives to hold meetings or conferences and to adopt resolutions on the complete economic independence of enterprises so that the ministry would be deprived of the opportunity to preserve unnecessary management structures. The Oblsovprof has also filed a proposal for canceling all preferences for managers—to eliminate separate rooms in canteens, special order departments, and to use Oblast Hospital No 2 for services to the local populace..." However, this is at present... Nonetheless, the experience is undoubtedly instructive also for other trade union organizations which yet have to determine their policy.

Finally, the last point. This is the stand of the local soviets. Here we have the same range as in the case of trade union organizations. Chairman of the Kemerovo City Ispolkom V. Mikhaylov spent entire days in the square with the miners, responded to their questions, and took part in the discussion of demands. In some cities, the deputies of soviets preferred to keep silent, and ispolkom [executive committee] officials lay low in their offices. It is no accident that the strike committee of Berezovskiy expressed its lack of confidence in the city soviet and, first of all, its chairman A. Garanin, who has held this position for many years, but has done little in order to provide amenities for the city. The Mezhdurechensk Strike Committee called on the voters to hear the reports of deputies and to recall those who do not enjoy authority and did not take a principled stand during the strike. Also, the USSR people's deputies residing in the Kuzbass gathered during these days in Prokopyevsk and addressed the oblast soviet with a proposal: taking into account the demands of strike committees, consider the issue of holding elections to the local soviets as early as October... To be sure, the party obkom did not agree with them...

Meanwhile, a peculiar situation emerged. The strike committees essentially came to power in the cities. They took care of trade, transportation, and maintaining order. People who had not been able for a long time to secure help and cooperation from any organization came to the committees from dawn till dusk. The committee members sorted it out, grasped every problem, addressed the specialists, and helped with treatment, repairs, and job placement whenever they could.

They saw in the Kuzbass how the working class rallies and organizes, how boldly it defends the interests of all toilers and demands that the most significant problems for our country be solved, and how many non-ordinary people, independent, qualified, and bold, ready to serve the common cause the strike "brought to light." They saw it, and they were surprised: How come we did not notice them before, how come we nominated others to social organizations—those indifferent, non-descript, ready to agree with any opinion of the management. Was it simpler, more convenient?

A. Yevsyukov, chairman of the Kemerovo Strike Committee and electrician-fitter at the Volkov Mine, told us: "We have now decided to hold meetings at mines, and to give some thought to the role of social organizations in strikes, look how the trade union committees and councils of workers' collectives performed (the function of the latter also has yet to be grasped)—in a word, to sort out who is who, and after that we can think about the new elections as well. However, the city strike committees do not intend so far to relinquish their powers entirely. As of 1 August, they operate on a volunteer basis—monitor the execution of the agreements secured, and defend the economic and social rights of labor collectives."

...The squares of the cities of Kuzbass are deserted. The meetings quieted down. Coal is being delivered up. However, the entire country has heard the voice of strikers. Perestroyka heeds no delay, and the working class is ready to assume responsibility.

When the Issue Was Being Typeset

Yesterday evening, a message from the Kuzbass reached us: The Council of the Workers' Committees of the Kuzbass (this is how the former regional strike committee is now called) announced at the session of the

Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies here its decision to hold on 3 August a warning 2-hour strike in conjunction with the failure to comply with one of the points of the Protocol on Coordinated Measures—on discontinuing the construction of Krapivinskiy Hydropower Facility on the river Tom. However, a number of city workers' committees, as well as people's deputies, did not support this decision.

Donetsk Strike Situation Reviewed

LD1508014789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 14 August broadcasts a 30-minute program entitled "Difficult Days in the Donbass."

The program is introduced by clips of interviews with miners and officials complaining about the unsatisfactory working conditions in the Donetsk basin region. A miner is interviewed about the resolution of the situation and says that "issues are not being solved on time because ministries and departments literally do not want to work in the new way, but we are tired of working in the old way."

An opening video report by an unidentified correspondent recounts how Donetsk has been built up with its works, but without any particular planning. The video shows town scenes, including streets, parks, and pictures of furnaces and pit heads. The correspondent says the problems of the more than 100,000 Donbass miners had built up over a long period of time.

Following video of railway cars full of coal is a video interview with A. M. Kazhuzhko, head of the Donetsk railway directorate. Kazhuzhko states that the railwaymen lost approximately 8 million rubles in profits as a result of the strike and failed to fulfil the relevant plans and obtain concomitant material incentives. Kazhuzhko notes that they will have to transport an extra 1,000 trains consisting of 50 railcars, which is bound to affect rail capacities.

Next follows a series of interviews with rail and metal workers who are asked to comment on rumors that they were also planning to strike under the present conditions. I.I. Zbykovskiy, director of the Donetsk chemical and coking plant says, "the miners were on strike around the clock and we were working around the clock as well. Thus, we managed to keep going, but I would like to stress that if it had gone on for another 2 days, the consequences would have been irreparable, because there would not have been anything to load the coke oven with, and a coke oven battery is such that it cannot remain in an empty, unloaded, state for long. Naturally, this would have destroyed the coke-oven battery. You know that on average, at the moment, a coke-oven battery with a productivity of something like 650-700,000 tonnes of coke per year costs something like 25 million rubles. Yes, it would have to be constructed anew, a new coke oven battery would have to be created. As to the consequences, the metal workers would be idle; the machinebuilders would be idle. In general, the economic consequences cannot be predicted. There would have been real collapse. There would have been an economic crash."

A report from Yenakiyevo follows on the premise that the Donetsk situation would provoke a chain reaction. The correspondent notes, "To be honest about it, people were alarmed. The demands of the metal workers were no less serious than those of the miners. The miner's strike evidently not only prompted the workers, but the works' administration as well, and the ministry as well. Many of the issues were resolved in the first few days of the strike committee's work." V. G. Podolskiy, chairman of the strike committee, a rolling mill operator, is interviewed about the committee and how the issues were resolved without a strike and gives his views of the miners' strike. He says, "during the strike, Donetsk Oblast alone lost 1,3 million tonnes of coal. Of this, 75,000 tonnes were domestic coal used by the population." The correspondent notes the miners themselves felt the effect of the strike in their social development fund, the Donbass having lost 4 million rubles; this is money for nursery schools, housing and clubs. The miners have promised to make up for the losses, but this is a difficult task. "In the Donetsk Oblast mines alone, 155 breakage faces became unserviceable during the strike," notes Podolskiy. The correspondent states that it is not the miners who should compensate for the losses but those who have for many years now made out that everything was quite all right in mining districts. The accompanying video shows miners going into the mine.

V. R. Zhukov, first secretary of Makeyevka town committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party is asked whether the miners' demands would have been met without the strike. He replies that it is difficult for him to say, noting it would probably have been more complicated. Yu.I. Karpenko, secretary of Makeyevka town committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party adds that it would probably have taken longer. He says that the strike occurred more or less spontaneously, without the miners' demands having been formulated and even before a strike committee had been set up. "Yes, to a certain extent it was spontaneous radical processes," Karpenko says. "In general, the secretary of the party's rayon committee was there, the party committee secretary. They talked to people, and the processes occurred. At the beginning of the strike they started to draw up their demands. There was no strike committee. Essentially, it did not progress according to any strike canons. There were no demands, there was no strike committee, and people did not know essentially who to nominate. It was all a matter of emotions somehow. There was some kind of initial stimulus; the events in the eastern regions, that is, in the coal basins. In general, we had to somehow help, prompt, to form the demands that were made later. To start with there were 12, then they grew to 21, and today there are 47." He says that in other regions there have been 149 demands. The accompanying video shows interview with these two party officials.

The next interview involves miners in a Yenakiyevo street. The miners discuss the difficulties they face and complain that many of the issues had been on the shelf since 1984, although decisions had been made on them.

Another report shows a graveyard where miners are buried. The correspondent talks about miners' exploits, about invalid miners, and says that in this cemetery, which was opened in December 1986, he did not find a single miner over 30, a testimony to the accidents that await miners. He mentions the fact that among the miners' 47 demands is a demand for pensions for invalids of mining accidents. He asks how the government could refuse to include the ailments afflicting miners in the list of professional diseases.

Correspondent Boris Kazakov, shown outside an apartment building, reads a letter from an invalid miner, injured by a rock fall, who complains that he is continually refused the benefits due to him. A report follows on how the blame for dozens of complaints like this one lies with bureaucrats who refuse to do anything about it.

In another interview miners discuss their long days, involving 6-7 km walks, making their working days sometimes 12-hour days. Another group of miners, asked whether they went on strike purely in solidarity with other miners, said it was in protest against "administrative pressure." They complain that they have no protection, the trade union committee does nothing in the interests of the workers, and the same is true of party workers. One miner complains that only poor quality meat is available on the monthly coupons, while if the miners earn more then can afford to buy produce on the markets. The conversation goes on to deal with "superfluous people," who are employed in the industry, but they do not do the job that they should, they are registered as earning a low wage, but in fact earn 500-600 rubles per month. The miners complain that they are not experiencing any gain from restructuring, that they are not sure that greater input on their part will result in their getting more.

In an interview, Academician V.K. Mamutov of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences talks about the root of the troubles, blaming inflation, lack of well-considered decisions on the part of the government, the increasing shortages of goods and foodstuffs, and the fact that wages have in actual fact fallen. He states that many of the issues were raised long ago, but in the case of the Donbass it is the central bodies that are to blame for the situation and not the local soviets. Mamutov sees the main cause of the troubles as the failure of expectations being satisfied. The expectation of rapid changes was not justified. According to approximately 75 percent of people polled on the question, things have worsened in some ways. A lack of trust is cited as one of the reasons for the strike. Traders selling watermelons and dried fish who have bought up the produce on the market are attacked for reselling them at a higher price. The state is said not to want to bother supplying the people with foodstuffs. Mamutov says: "Many facts published in the Ukrainian press testify to the fact that there are forces here that benefit from the shortages. They are strangling restructuring. This is what causes a lack of trust. It is well known that at the beginning of the strike some functionaries gazed at it from the sidelines. There were mine directors who resigned immediately."

In an interview, A.Z. Potshuk, secretary of the Yenakiyevo town committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, who has traversed the path from miner to director, speaks about the way that he had won the miners' trust. Asked whether he finds it somewhat paradoxical that the town committee secretary should be a member of the strike committee, Potshuk replies: "If it had happened a month ago, I would probably have found it paradoxical, but when we started to evaluate the situation that had arisen, when we started to have contact with people, in the first few hours, the first dew days, we understood that our place could only be there, only there among the people, and only together with them."

The program concludes with the correspondent noting that the strike showed who is who, both among the administration and among the miners. The composition of many strike committees changed in the course of events, party committee secretaries, rayon executive committee chairmen, directors of mines and specialist were re- elected. Now forces have formed in the donbass that are "capable of defending restructuring." "The government has accepted the demands of the miners, but the experience of the strike indicates that their implementation will not be carried out without a struggle. Those 10 days gave the bureaucy a good shaking up but did not break the bureaucratic system," the correspondent concludes.

Miners Call for Moderation in Disputes

18280265 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 2

["Appeal by miners of the USSR 50th Anniversary 'Beloruskaliy' Production Association"]

[Text] We, the miners of Soligorsk, having followed closely the course of the strike struggle of the coal industry miners, support the demands made by them completely and in their entirety; these demands fully apply to us.

At the same time, having seen and realized the enormity of economic, financial, and moral losses due to strikes in the case of coal miners, we appeal for:

1. Not embarking on the path of strikes in resolving conflicts between the toilers and the state as represented by the local soviets, ministries, and departments until all other available opportunities and ways for achieving a mutual agreement have been exhausted.

Striking or exploiting the strike threat without a prior dialogue between the parties to a conflict should be considered immoral for the Soviet worker.

2. Setting the deadlines for meeting the demands made which objectively correspond to the economic potential of the country, the regions, and the enterprises.

3. The managers of all ranks and in all organizations immediately addressing the demands and needs of toilers and resolving favorably all the issues falling within the scope of their responsibilities without delay in order to avert unneeded conflicts and further fueling of passions.

4. Workers of all branches of the national economy of our country exercising self-control at this difficult time, preventing emotions from getting the upper hand over reason, objectively sorting out every conflict situation, and finding the only way given which our common well-being will not suffer.

We hope and believe that the working class is the healthy force which will prevent chaos in our country. Perestroyka should go on. All of us are responsible for the fate of perestroyka!

[Signed] Miners of the city of Soligorsk.

Yu. Velichko, operator of rock-removing machines, chairman of the workers' committee of miners in Soligorsk, says:

"When the wave of miners' strikes began, I started thinking: Our economy is decaying; shortages are all around us. If we stop enterprises on top of that, tomorrow it may come to us having nothing to feed our children with. No, we have to bring about solving the problems which have accumulated for years primarily by negotiations.

"People enjoying authority have joined our workers' committee, including party and trade union officials and informal leaders. We have compiled a package of demands. In general, they are in line with those made by the coal miners: After all, we work under similar conditions, with similar equipment. In general, I am at a loss as to why the solutions developed for coal miners do not apply to other miners who mine, say, salt, sulphur, boron, or potassium.... Does the government not understand that these half-measures prompt the toilers who were passed over to resort to extreme measures? I will add that our "package" contains items affecting the interests of not only the miners but all citizens of Soligorsk.

"We see now that we have opted for the right way. The negotiations, particularly those with the local authorities, were difficult but ultimately the main issues were 'taken care of' and we came to an agreement. The republic authorities and the Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry treated our demands with understanding. The republic council of trade unions and the Central Committee of our trade union supported us.

"We do not want to be perceived as scabs and contrasted with the coal miners. They were the first ones to show what can happen if the opinion of toilers is ignored. I am certain that, if it were not for the miners' strike, the leaders of different ranks would hardly be trying to meet our demands as they are now; for its part, the trade union would not be that persistent."

Daily Reflects on Karaganda Miners' Strike

PM2707130189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by correspondent G. Belotserkovskiy: "And Then the Dam Burst..."]

[Text] Karaganda—One week ago (18 July) the Central Television program "120 Minutes" announced: None of the 110,000 Karaganda miners has turned up for work. Could it be a strike? Indeed, all was quiet the evening before. Nothing of the sort, I was assured by F. Shneyderman, production director at the "Karagandaugol" Association, over the telephone. The announcer had simply gotten Karaganda mixed up with the Kuzbass. That evening Shneyderman appeared on local television, totally denied the report, and talked about labor enthusiasm and above-plan tonnage. But the mistake by the announcer or whoever turned out to be prophetic.

The conflict had been brewing for a long time. One year ago the participants in our newspaper's festival in Karaganda Oblast went to one of Karaganda's satellite cities, Shakhtinsk, and were struck by the atmosphere of anxiety they sensed everywhere. The workers were literally hollering to us about their problems—empty foodstores, a shortage of housing and the poor quality of the housing that is being built, and the absence of other basic social benefits. The party oblast committee [obkom] took offense at the article about that meeting and about why it was making a poor job of tackling the food problem in Karaganda Oblast. We are trying, it said, whereas you... According to Obkom First Secretary V.I. Lokotunin, we were wrong, apparently, to be sounding the alarm and had been "laying it on thick." One thing he said was surprising: Miners earn far more, apparently, than teachers. So let them go and get meat on the market on equal terms. That would be social justice...

This attitude, an odd one, to say the least, also cropped up in another context. The miners had applied themselves to implementing the "Housing-91" program and had constructed tens of thousands of extra meters of housing through their own efforts—and then what happened? The city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] knocked precisely that amount off their allocation.

The sector headquarters was also making slow progress in tackling the problems. Denial of the right to sell coal directly put the Karaganda miners in an intolerable position vis-a-vis suppliers—machine-builders who had obtained the right to set contract prices for their own products. Given the monopoly diktat, these prices ceased to be contract prices and became ultimatums, extortion. In some cases it was even worse. For each of its excavators the Kostroma plant demanded... a "GAZ-24" vehicle.

So supplies to miners were practically disintegrating before our very eyes. And all because perestroyka is lagging behind in this basic sector and is being suffocated by a 100-percent state order and an inability to adopt countermeasures and talk on equal terms with partners who have already obtained their freedom.

The miners were also incensed by the way Karaganda is being neglected. It is painful to see cities decaying and roads full of potholes. The authorities have neither money nor materials. They get crumbs from the ministerial table. Yet nearly all the profits from local enterprises under union jurisdiction go there.

And then the strike. Beginning in Shakhtinsk, where the problems are most acute, by the next day it had spread to the entire field—26 mines and 3 pits. Only the previous day the miners had been exercising restraint, listening to reports from Moscow, believing that the measures adopted in response to the Kuzbass miners' demands would apply to the sector as a whole. But USSR Coal Industry Minister M.I. Shchadov's telegram to Karaganda on these very measures caused passions to erupt. Certain very important points related to the Kuzbass alone. It was a whole day before the Coal Industry Ministry thought better of it and the teleprinter chattered out an addendum correcting the mistake. But it was already too late—the strike machine was in motion....

I will not describe all the details of an event unprecedented in the history of Karaganda. It was like the Kuzbass strike in that it was organized and there was no outrageous behavior. It did not disrupt the Karaganda and Magnitorgorsk metallurgical combines, which operate on Kazakh coking material, although they did get a little nervous there. A government commission, headed by USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman V. Doguzhiyev, worked through the night in conjunction with the oblast strike committee. The work became more constructive with the arrival in the city of republican Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary N. Nazarbayev.

"But local leaders seemed at a loss at rallies, not really in charge of the situation," V. Doguzhiyev told me.

"Explanations" of what had happened and references to "objective causes" would not do anymore. People wanted something else: decisions, new ideas, decisive measures. The people were tired of half-measures and programs through the year 2000 and something. So they derided the vague "we will look into it," "we will set up a commission," and so on from republican Trade Minister Tantsyura, who, when he was offered a rancid specimen of miner's snap "to try," did not turn a hair: Perfectly edible, he said. It is hard to describe the wrath caused by these almost insulting words. Nor did the people accept what Obkom First Secretary V. Lokotunin said. It was too much like a formal report.

"I am Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee," said the man who spoke a little later on, immediately grabbing the audience's attention. "I have only been in the job for 20 days. I have come here straight from the airport."

The confidential, intimate tone was persuasive, making those who had not slept for 2 days stop and think.

"Many of the questions you have raised are perfectly fair," the speaker continued. "If you recall, I brought them up at the Congress of People's Deputies. The union Council of Ministers is currently examining the Law on Local Self-Management and Regional Economic Accountability, which I had a hand in, too. It is envisaged that as much as 40 percent of enterprises' profits will remain in the local budget. At the moment, oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkoms] have nothing. All we have done for 4 years is talk about independence for enterprises. I am as angry as you are. I believe that instead of the 'Karagandaugol' Association, we should set up a voluntary association of coal miners that would decide for itself how many managers to have."

Two impressively dressed young men—wearing bright scarves and large Moscow People's Front emblems that contrasted sharply with the ocean of miners' jackets—who had come from Moscow "to help" the strikers had somehow gotten lost amid the constructive dialogue between the authorities and the people. Let us introduce them: Ye. Ostrovskiy and B. Kagarlitskiy. The latter introduced himself as the agent of a people's deputy. Purpose of visit? To help the strikers by word, by deed, and, if necessary, with money.

It must be said that during this worrying period one constantly felt that someone was very keen that the strike should not end peacefully. Rumors were rife—that there were youths trying to cause a hullabaloo and that the militia were arming.

The strike committee immediately established that it was all groundless.

But the situation was obviously explosive and unpredictable. Strike committee chairman Shlegel spent a long time trying to persuade people to go back to work, showing them the signed demands. It took another day of vigirous talks and visits before the storm abated.

"What do you think of strikes in our country?" I asked V. Doguzhiyev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Emergencies Commission.

"We need a law on them. I would point out the lack of sophistication of strikers and managers in Karaganda. The former were unable to formulate their demands clearly, the latter were unable to resolve them. What is needed is a phased system: Set out your demands. State them again a month later, say, with a final warning. And only then adopt extreme measures. If you do that straight away you are driving the fatherland into an impasse."

...The protocol on measures agreed to between the oblast strike committee and the government commission covered a whole page in the oblast paper. It has much in common with the documents adopted in Kemerovo and the Donbass. Henceforth the mines have complete economic independence. Therefore, the miners will resolve the majority of problems by themselves. They have also achieved a great deal in terms of radically improved pay. They expressed a lack of confidence in N. Drizhd, general director of the association. He resigned.

It was decided that the problems revealed by the strike will be examined at an expanded session of the party obkom bureau. It will also have to discuss the obkom leadership's responsibility for what happened. One cannot ignore the fact that the miners also expressed a lack of confidence in Obkom First Secretary V. Lokotunin. Things must not be allowed to continue on in the old way: Karaganda is now a different place.

Local Officials Refuse Blame for Miners Strikes

PM1508094189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by own correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy: "From the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom Plenum: Indicator of Tension"]

[Text] The events of the last month have put the Kuzbass at the center of attention of the whole country and and turned it, as it were, into an indicator of the sociopolitical tension in society. The miners' strike that "exploded" in virtually all the coal basins brought into being new forces and processes which are by no means always unambiguous. Questions about the assessments, causes, and responsibility of the oblast party organization and Communists working in soviets and public formations are constantly raised at extraordinary plenums of the party obkom [oblast committee] and oblast trade union council, the oblast soviet session, and the frequent sessions of those organs' bureaus and presidiums.

Assessments would appear to have been made. It is becoming increasingly clear that the miners' strike was a protest against the slow progress of perestroyka, particularly in the economy, and against the unceasing and sometimes even increasing diktat of departments, tenacious bureaucracy, and the indifference of central and local organs toward people's interests and needs. But was this firmly grasped by everyone? Was everyone able to sense what was meant by M.S. Gorbachev's well known words: "...the working class is correctly raising the question. This... is one of the most serious conclusions which I want to express to you: The workers are taking the matter firmly into their own hands. And that, for all the drama of the events, encourages me very much."

If we express solidarity with that assessment, why did Obkom Secretary V. Lushev claim at a session of the party obkom bureau that the "moral damage is immeasurable?" Why did A. Lyutenko, chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast executive committee], echo him at an oblast soviet session? And V. Galkin, an obkom department chief, is inclined to see the dramatic events that disturbed millions as a "spectatcle." So apparently this mere "spectacle" has forced us to think this way and adopt such extraordinary decisions to substantially speed up perestroyka processes?

There is no less disagreement in the analysis of the causes either. "What has happened is the result of this lack of restraint and democratization," Yu. Cherepov, first secretary of the Mezhdurechensk Party Gorkom [city committee], said defensively. A. Zaytsev, a colleague from the city of Belovo, expressed himself even more clearly to the plenum: "The bare shelves in the stores and lousy social, cultural, and consumer provision are the result of 4 years of perestroyka." It is therefore democratization and perestroyka, rather than the decades of stagnation, when "petrodollars" alone made it possible to create a semblance of prosperity, which are to blame.

The report by A. Melnikov, party obkom first secretary, it should be noted, was far more accurate: "Restructuring has opened up the opportunity to solve urgent problems through economic accountability and the rights granted to state enterprises. But here the administrative-edict system of the departments has applied powerful brakes... Conflict has arisen between the ideas of perestroyka and the practice of life."

It should be acknowledged that the rigorous, analytical, and frank tone of the report did not receive concerted support. While the main speaker, after noting the center's dilatoriness in tackling problems, concentrated on local bureaucracy, speakers from the floor, while acknowledging their own "omissions," leveled far more complaints at the Ministry of Light Industry, the government, and the party Central Committee.

On the eve of the plenum there was a session of the obkom bureau where (to be frank, mild) assessments were made of those responsible for the conflict at the Mezhdurechensk mine named for Shevyakov, the very mine where it all began. What were the workers' initial demands about? Towels, soap, mineral water dispensers,

the issue of special clothing... What is there to reproach the center for? After all, it wasn't up to the Congress of Deputies to solve all these problems!

The search for culprits was also actively conducted on a "horizontal plane." At the plenum the party workers blamed the trade union, USSR people's deputies, and the oblispolkom for what happened. At the session it was the party committee workers, the same trade union, and the same people's deputies who were blamed. And everyone joined in with special passion to blame the press. A. Kranzeyev, secretary of the "Anzherskaya" Mine party committee, explained the cause of the strike in his city as follows: The night before television reported that the miners of only two cities—Belovo and Anzhero-Suzhdensk—were not on strike, and the next morning they were. One heard the same words at the oblast aktiv meeting from A. Zaytsev, first secretary of the Belovo Gorkom. I am well aware of what the aforementioned comrades want, they want us to stay quiet as we did in the past. It does make one wonder: Can anybody really seriously think that the miners stopped work because of journalists' "intrigues"?...

Criticism, albeit guarded, was also leveled at the strike committees, today's worker committees. Some people complained that the committees do not want to work with others and endeavor to get away with merely monitoring decisions that have been made. Others regretted that not all of them are the "right" people and said they must "clean up their act." Yet others enquired: How long will we have this dyarchy, is it not time to set a clear time limit to the committees' activity? The trouble is that the committees tackle all these problems without anyone's help. After all, even when they were setting themselves up, they did not ask permission of anyone. Now they are registered as public organizations, moreover, and they will also clearly decide themselves how long they are to exist.

The impression gained from the debate at the plenum would have been frankly distressing had invited members of worker committees not taken part. The speech by N. Litvinenko, chairman of the Belovo city committee, is worth quoting in detail:

"I am the person who is now charged with causing losses of millions of rubles to the city and oblast and with wielding the knife that stabbed perestroyka in the back. Comrades, I do not and never will accept these charges. It was not we who caused these millions of rubles of losses to our people, but those who for 10 years or more failed to solve a single question... It is not the right method, we are told. There are several hundred people here, cannot at least one of you get to your feet and tell us what method should have been used? We persuaded, demanded, wrote letters—did it help? No... I came here to hear from the party obkom plenum where we should go from here. What is to be tackled and how? I have to go to people, and what do I tell them? That you indulged in mutual recriminations?..."

We have already seen for ourselves that the search for culprits is now the least of workers' concerns, they have long since left that stage behind. The slow progress in carrying out joint decisions worries them far more, and they find alarming the attempts by departments to breach them at least in some way. What, for example, is the way of acquiring autonomy outlined in the minister's edict? The labor collective council should make a decision and forward it to the ministry, the main economic department will then examine it and either give the go-ahead or categorically forbid it.

And many doubts have surfaced at local level among the leadership of enterprises and associations: Will we be able to survive on our own, won't we go bust? Do we need regional economic accountability? Yu. Torubarov, first secretary of Kiselevskiy Gorkom, even asked how economic accountability can be combined with Marx and with the fact that socialism means planned economic management. And how does the voluntary principle of joining an association fit with the need for strict discipline at dangerous enterprises like mines?... Without always having the opportunity to find weighty economic arguemnts and sometimes reluctant to wait for long, the workers act decisively: "It is signed, let us carry it out!"

Most of them are Communists. And for that reason the party obkom's position worries them. N. Litvinenko, whom we cited, is not just a party member but is also secretary of the "Novaya" Mine party organization. He resolutely stated:

"I am well aware that all our party's activity is for the people. Why, then, should I, a Communist, go against the people? I carry my party card with pride and will continue to do so."

The lines of the resolution and the admission made in the report were his answer: "Life is quickly coming into conflict with old forms and methods of work. It has shown that the causes of the social conflicts go deeper than those given in our assessment. They reflect the phenomena set in train by perestroyka and its ideas of renewing society... I think that the obkom plenum can come to the unambiguous assessment that in these conditions the participation of Communists in the strike was justified."

The Kuzbass can no longer live in the old way. What has happened has cut off the route leading back to that state of social apathy, alienation, and indifferent, somnolent stagnation. A new situation has arisen in the oblast and new enterprising, creative, and highly exacting people have appeared in the working class, and then among the technical and creative intelligentsia. Is it possible to ignore this innovation henceforth in life, in the immediate future? Extraordinary plenums of gorkoms and sessions of city soviets have been held in some mining cities. But what happened? They proceeded in the same old way and sometimes without even a quorum. It is as

if nothing has happened. And the oblast soviet session too, it has to be admitted, was no special upheaval for the deputies. And all the measures to implement the miners' demands planned by the session are aimed, out of old habit, not at the soviet but at the ispolkom and the apparatus. The deputies have, however, as before, been left the right or, indeed, obligation "to join in explanatory work, to organize the execution of instructions, and to resolutely combat bureaucracy..."

Given this, the speediest renewal of elected organs would seem necessary. However, the proposal made on the bureau's behalf to hold extraordinary report and election conferences was not supported by the obkom plenum. It turned out that there was no place for "new people" in it. And there are, it should be said, few workers and almost no scientists, social scientists, or representatives of the intelligentsia there. There are, on the other hand, plenty of leaders, ranging from party leaders to economic leaders. Does the present composition of the CPSU Obkom in the Kuzabass correspond to the situation and the disposition of forces?

The plenum demanded that the style of party work be improved and that every party organization become a cohesive union of like-minded people working in the interests of the people and advancing perestroyka in every area. During the upcoming reports and elections it is planned to replenish the party organs with creative, enterprising, businesslike people. It is recommended that labor collective councils, trade union committees, and other organs be reinforced with cadres who enjoy working people's trust and respect.

The plenum participants supported the proposal of a group of USSR people's deputies that a halt be called to the strikes prior to the adoption and entry into force of the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes" and considered it essential to discuss this proposal at party meetings and in labor collectives. The participation of Communists in the strike that took place was deemed justified.

The plenum urged the oblast's Communists and working people to direct all their efforts and experience toward normalizing the situation and resolutely advancing the region's socioeconomic renewal.

Railroad Leaders Comment on Workers Grievances

18290252 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
6 Aug 89 p 2

[Report on interview with USSR Minister of Railroads N. Konarev and I. Shiniyevich, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Railroad Transportation and Transport Construction Employees, by TASS correspondents A. Dragan and S. Turanov: "Dialogue With the Workers"—date and place not given]

[Text] **Our country's complex economic situation is also reflected in the pace of railroad transportation. Its insufficiently effective planning and disruptions associated with strike present railroad workers with complex production and social problems. On the eve of the Day of the Railroad Worker, USSR Minister of Railroads N. Konarev and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Railroad Transportation and Transport Construction Employees I. Shiniyevich told TASS correspondents how these problems are being solved.**

Correspondent: Many railroad transportation problems have been caused by serious miscalculations in developing the production-technical and social policy. Thus, a car conductor has little interest in enhancing services to passengers and improving their quality; the volume of ton-kilometer performance, on the fulfillment of which the salary of an engineer is based, does not always depend on the engineer. The economic reform that has been initiated and the implementation of economic accountability at transportation enterprises have not eliminated these problems.

Chairman: You are right. It is no secret that the technical equipment of the railroad—cars, signals, block systems, and many others—are trailing the constantly increasing volume of passenger and freight transportation. This brings about the violation of technologies, simplification of rules and instructions, and unjustified revision of the norms. The outcome is frequently lamentable—train accidents, loss of life.

Solving the problems of technical retooling of transportation is definitely associated with the development of social infrastructure. Prerequisites for the scientific-technical progress in the industry may be provided by attracting young, energetic specialists. However, to this end good working and living conditions need to be provided for them. It cannot be said that we do not work on these problems. Thus, the commissioning of housing has increased sharply in recent years. We are developing capacity for the further building up of the volumes of construction of residential houses and other social facilities.

Labor collectives have introduced a number of significant preferences and compensation on the basis of the funds generated.

Minister: We know what the concerns of the workers are, and, as they say, not second-hand. Our dialogue with them has never stopped. They are frequent guests at the meetings of the ministry collegium. Thus, at the meeting with representatives of all railroads that was held on 27 and 28 July, ways to resolve a majority of issues raised by them were worked out. Much has already been done in recent years. For example, due to internal resources, the wages in the industry grew by 60 rubles on the average. However, many unresolved issues have accumulated in transportation, not because we fail to recognize them but because for a long time little attention was paid to transportation on the state level.

First, it is necessary for the work of railroad employees to be remunerated commensurately with its high intensity and responsibility, and to be guaranteed by resolving the issues of everyday life. Many benefits were unjustifiably canceled. We have worked out a program of development of railroad transportation in which, among other things, we have envisaged solving the accumulated problems.

Correspondent: However, much depends on "internal" factors as well. After all, by now an abnormal situation has emerged when railroad employees—engineers, track assemblers, conductors—are not interested in the final result of their work, operation of their depot or railroad.

Chairman: Representatives of many professions have told us many times how to resolve this disparity. Thus, the engineers have proposed a new form of mutual relations between the depot and the division built on the basis of firm economic calculations. If the dispatchers hold engineers longer at the stage than the norm is, they will have to pay. If the engineer fails to keep within the normal time he will have to answer with money. It has now been decided to support this proposal, and a corresponding order of the MPS [Ministry of Railroads] has been issued. Now, instead of irresponsibly calling in new engine crews "just in case" while those already en route are stopped at the stages, at the red traffic lights, the train dispatchers will have to think about how much it is going to cost them. The labor collectives also propose other economic devices. We should listen to these proposals attentively. We should say that the strike of miners, as well as the active position of many labor collectives of railroad workers and trade union committees, have prompted us to solve many problems.

Minister: Speaking about strikes, I would like to note that, taking into account the economic and geographic situation of our country, they are absolutely inadmissible in railway transportation. If a law permitting strikes in railway transportation is adopted this would be a crime against socialism, against our motherland. This does not occur to a single conscientious railroad employee. For their part, journalists frequently exaggerate the idea of eventual disturbances. Thus, on the morning of 1 August the main dispatcher reported to me: Nine calls from various editorial offices have come in and they have asked us: How are you doing over there, has the strike begun or not?

Correspondent: Nonetheless, there is talk about the strike. Perhaps, you have more work to do these days. Are you successful in staying ahead of the events?

Chairman: First, we have established close, real-time communications with the "hottest" spots. The telephone numbers 262-58-73 and 262-17-90 are open continuously for those who, having gone through all the echelons, have lost hope and are forced to appeal for help to us in the Central Committee of the trade union. We also call the field continuously.

—Maybe, we will contact one of the depots right now and find out what the situation is?

—Let us do it.

Several minutes later, telephone operators put us through to manager on duty of the Belovo Engine Depot of the Kemerovo Railroad. He gave the phone to engineer V.S. Sudarnov.

—Do you have everyday life problems which are of particular concern to you?

—Housing. I have worked at the depot for 33 years, but still have not received an apartment. They build little housing for us. Many freight engineers hauling are not satisfied with the schedule of operations either. Right now, we have the on-call system—there are neither days off nor compensation time. We need to switch to a firm schedule...

Engineer N.M. Golikov from the Volkhovstroy Engine Depot of the October Railroad told us the same thing.

Chairman: As you can see, the problems on the entire network are virtually identical. For example, there is a shortage of housing. How can there be enough of it if the economic independence of line enterprises is practically absent under the current system of economic accountability and the organizational structure of management? All the managers have one thing on their minds—haul more, haul further, haul faster! You have to think all the time about how to generate profits. Unfortunately, there is only one opportunity—building up the volume of transportation. The trade union categorically objects to such an approach. We are against a mere 15 to 20 percent of all investment in railroad transportation being allocated for people. At a minimum, 30 percent is needed. If we show concern for the people, and create the necessary conditions for their work and life, this will be felt immediately. The collectives will become stable, and the prestige of the work of railroad employees will increase. We lose millions due to theft, lack of organization and discipline. If we rise up and shake off our hibernation, the cursed principle of "doing it any old way," the fate of railroad employees can be made much easier due to improving and streamlining the haulage, a wider application of direct contracts, contract prices, economic accountability, and the discontinuation of the use of transportation as a pump siphoning both the money and the energy of people employed here into the budget, and subsequently who knows where.

Correspondent: It is known that many trade union functionaries are referred to as being "in the pocket." Is this not the cause of conflicts that the trade union is unable to extinguish?

Chairman: Indeed, such an opinion has emerged in society. The situation will not be changed by isolated examples of a principled attitude of trade union committees at all levels. This is why the position of trade unions in the country should be established legally. At present, the discussion of the draft Law on the Rights of Trade Unions is under way. The Presidium of the Central Committee of our trade union has developed an alternative draft based on the discussion of the draft and proposals from the field and has submitted it to the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]. The main objective of our draft is to gear the trade union to discharging protective functions, its independence and democratic character. We have formulated a package of demands by labor collectives of railroad employees and forwarded it to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Minister: I have high praise for the operation of our railroad trade unions. It is rather the administration of our enterprises and the planning organs that deserve a big rebuke. The initiative in solving social problems originates exactly with the trade unions. It is a pity, however, that their demands are not always fully met. In some instances, this is associated with limited financing opportunities, and in other instances, with the lack of understanding by the management. The trade unions should take advantage of their rights more vigorously. After all, not one facility or item can be confirmed without their consent. Recently, the activity of our trade unions has increased sharply. A number of issues in remuneration for the labor of engine crews, the schedule of their work, and in providing preferences for other categories of railroad employees have been resolved. We should keep up the pace we have attained.

Yeltsin Says Policy Must Be Built on 'Trust'

PM1708144289 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin by special correspondent Irina Inoveli at USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions office in Moskva Hotel, Moscow: "USSR People's Deputy B.N. Yeltsin: 'I Am in Favor of the Truth, Whatever It May Be'"; date of interview not stated; first five paragraphs are an introduction]

[Excerpts] It was not too difficult to find out Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's telephone number. What was much more difficult was to get through. And it was very difficult indeed to get to see him. Not because he is inaccessible—but because the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions is extremely busy.

But I wanted to meet with Boris Nikolayevich not so much in his capacity as leader of that committee, as because he is one of the few USSR people's deputies who considered it their duty to visit Georgia in order to investigate for themselves the causes of the 9 April tragedy. [passage omitted]

Getting up from his desk to greet me and without waiting for my first question, Boris Nikolayevich said in a tone that brooked no objection:

"Just remember: I am not going to comment on the events in Abkhaziya. One wrong word there, and...."

My interviewee did not finish the sentence, but the meaning was clear. A quick glance at the clock—and the interview began.

[Inoveli] In general, it is clear what the processes were that, continuing for decades in our country, led to the sharp exacerbation of the problem of interethnic relations. What, in your view, is the way out of the situation that has arisen?

[Yeltsin] There can be only one way out: To grant real sovereignty to the republics themselves, including autonomous republics. Everything that injures national dignity should be swept aside. Every people, big or small, has the right autonomously to decide questions that are of vital importance to it.

[Inoveli] Tell me, what prompted you to travel to Tbilisi after the 9 April events, and what objective were you pursuing?

[Yeltsin] There was just one objective: To study on the spot what happened and how and why people committed a crime against their own people. After all, Soviet people killed other Soviet people, their own people. When one person's life is taken away by violence, that is a crime. And when 21 are killed....

I had to get to the bottom of it before the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and that is why I flew to Tbilisi on my days off—Saturday and Sunday. As a result of the trip I formed my own opinion, but I do not consider it possible to make my opinion public until after the USSR Supreme Soviet commission set up on this question has finished its work.

[Inoveli] Why do you think it was that the commission of the former, precongress USSR Supreme Soviet, formed specially to investigate the 9 April Tbilisi events, failed to perform its task?

[Yeltsin] Perhaps it did not have the time. Or the people. I have not gone into it particularly, I do not know.

[Inoveli] Do you expect the USSR Supreme Soviet commission now in action to be able to answer the question: Who authorized the April action in Tbilisi?

[Yeltsin] I would very much like to hope so. Personally, I am in favor of the truth, whatever it may be. Some people used to reproach me, and still do, for being insufficiently diplomatic, as they see it. But I thought and still think that deviousness is the diplomacy of the 17th century, the days of palace intrigues. Today there

can be only one diplomacy for us—the diplomacy of the truth, total openness. Only a policy built on trust between the authorities and the people can succeed.

[Inoveli] The press is now trying to promote that, but it sometimes has a hard time...

[Yeltsin] The party press, for instance: Each specific publication should become the organ of the party organizations, not of their committees. That is the first stage. The second is that the press should become completely independent. That is what we must strive for.

[Inoveli] Issue No 18 of the weekly KHRONIKA, which is published on duplicating equipment by the Moscow committee of the movement for the formation of an All-Union Association of Voters, reported that Colonel General Rodionov has been appointed chief of the Frunze Military Academy, which, as you know, trains top-level command cadres for our army. What is your comment on that?

[Yeltsin] No comment. I have not read KHRONIKA and I know nothing about it.

[Inoveli] The CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question keeps being postponed to a later date. Meanwhile more and more "hot spots" are appearing on the map of the country, where acute conflicts break out in the sphere of interethnic relations. What do you think, is there not a real danger that these conflicts will continue to be provoked increasingly by anti-perestroyka forces, which eventually, stating that they are fulfilling the "will of the working people," will—as has happened more than once before—use harsh measures to "impose order in the country," that is, to suppress democracy?

[Yeltsin] Like any revolution from above, and our perestroyka is that kind of revolution, as it develops it begins to have more and more of an effect on the interests of the top apparatus, and certain forces in that apparatus begin to put the brakes on the process. But then, if there are no real results, this process will begin to move downward more and more dynamically. The conservative section of the apparatus will not, I think, be able to resort to the old, tried and tested methods, for two main reasons.

First, the people are not the same any more. Their social apathy has disappeared, they are becoming increasingly politicized, they are acquiring the dignity that was crushed in past decades. And, second, we now have parliamentary levers for influencing the processes taking place in the country—this too must be taken into account.

[Inoveli] Many people today are very interested in the Interregional Group of USSR people's deputies, which you spoke of in your speech at the first Supreme Soviet session. Could you tell us about the factors that prompted the deputies to form the Interregional Group and the aims it sets itself? Incidentally, it would be interesting to know: Are there any deputies from the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in the group?

[Yeltsin] Yes, some deputies from Georgia belong to the Interregional Group. A few words about how and why it was formed.

The minority at the congress was unable to pass a number of decisions and proposals, because it was poorly organized. The Moscow group of deputies had some good proposals which, had they been adopted, would undoubtedly have enriched the work of the congress. I could mention our proposals for amendments to the USSR Constitution, for an amendment to the conduct of the congress, and others. In particular, we considered it necessary to adopt at the first congress a law on the status of the USSR people's deputy, and also to make amendments and additions to the Law on Elections in the USSR. It was very important to do that, since the union republics, in formulating their own draft laws on this question, are now having to draw on an all-union law which, as the election campaign showed, is itself far from perfect.

But, as you know, our proposals were not passed at the congress. And although we deputies knew each other a little before the congress—I am talking about the contacts established by the Moscow group with Leningrad, the Urals, and to some extent Georgia—we were a long way away from formulating a common position. That is why we, the Moscow group of deputies, passed along the rows at the congress our appeal proposing that deputies join the Interregional Group, which will reflect and uphold the interests of those who think differently from the majority.

[Inoveli] So it transpires that it is an opposition group? Although I personally do not understand why some people are so frightened of that word....

[Yeltsin] Look, you said it, not me. I try to avoid it, for that very reason: Many people in our country still invest that word with a negative or even blasphemous sense. Incidentally, the same was true until recently of terms like "pluralism" and "alternative," which have now become common in our political vocabulary. I am sure that after a certain time we will stop shuddering when we hear the term "opposition"....

The Interregional Deputies' Group is still small. By the time of its first, provisionally constituent, meeting, which it is planned to hold during the break in the Supreme Soviet session on Saturday and Sunday 29 and 30 July (the interview was given a few days before the session of the Interregional Group, which has since taken place—I.I.), it will, I think, include 400 people. We are also inviting to the session all interested people's deputies who do not belong to the Interregional Group. Whoever wants to can listen and think together with us.

And at the moment it is necessary first and foremost to think how to ensure that we have more alternative draft laws. That is what we must fight for.

I am hoping for a certain "leftward movement" by a proportion of the deputies. Especially after the end of the second session, when the deputies will disperse and report back to their voters. After all, it is no secret that many deputies came to the congress without a clear position of their own. They and all of us have to give an account of ourselves to our voters in August. And I am sure the discussion will be serious, dealing with the most important matters.

[Inoveli] Thank you for the interview.

Official Denies 'Journalist' Kuznetsov Tortured

LD1708143189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Now a piece of Western disinformation. Recently the Voice of America radio station broadcast extracts of a letter from Sergey Kuznetsov, an independent journalist, as he was introduced. Criminal charges have been brought against him for libel, committing a crime against the state or for another serious crime, and violently resisting a militia employee. According to the radio station, Kuznetsov addressed the world community as an eyewitness that the USSR violates many international pacts, including the international convention against torture. On this occasion, Lieutenant Colonel Valeriy Alekseyevich Svetlov, department head of the Chief Directorate for Corrective Matters, made the following statement at a briefing at the Internal Affairs Ministry of the USSR.

[Begin Svetlov recording] One should stress right away that in the USSR torture is not used either during preliminary investigations or while serving a sentence. It contradicts the aims and tasks of punishment, which do not envisage, according to our legislation, inflicting physical and moral suffering on an offender. Sergey Kuznetsov was in custody in the Sverdlovsk city detention center from 16 December 1988 until 26 July 1989. By profession an architect, he had not been employed anywhere before he was arrested. Twice he was subjected to forensic psychiatric formal examination, including [passage indistinct]. The examination did not reveal any injuries or traces of beating. Furthermore, I must say that at his request on 18 July and on 20 July 1989—that is right before his release on bail before the consideration of this criminal case in court—Kuznetsov met USSR People's Deputies Burbulis, Shmotyev, and Professor Nazarov, head of subfaculty of human rights of the All-Union Juridicial Correspondence Courses Institute. In the detention center, the people's deputies could not only visually make sure for themselves that there were no traces of any beating or torturing of Kuznetsov, but they were also provided with an extensive medical record about Kuznetsov's state of health and about the absence of signs of beating on his body. During this meeting, Kuznetsov did not express any misgivings to the administration of the establishment against the conditions of custody and medical service. One ought to note that during the time he spent in custody, Kuznetsov's behavior was by no means immaculate. He agitated the prisoners to disobedience, did not fulfill lawful requirements of the administration, and for this, with quite good reason, he was subjected to disciplinary punishment.

We are of course far from thinking that the respectable radio station is trying to deliberately intensify the human rights situation in the USSR. Evidently it is simply using unchecked information. In the context of the Vienna agreements, I wish to note that last January the USSR joined the international convention against torture, and complies with it without fail. [end recording]

Baklanov Tours Kharkov Oblast 24-26 Jul

PM0208104389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Economy's Reserves in the Cause of Perestroyka"]

[Text] The restructuring of the economy is increasingly being translated into practical deeds. Various of the country's regions provide quite a few examples of extraordinary approaches, based on specific local conditions, toward the solution of the most important problems of economic building in today's conditions.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was briefed in detail 24-26 July on the way this process takes place in Kharkov Oblast's industry. The mighty science and production potential of this oblast in the Soviet Ukraine has a substantial influence on the development of the country's economy. Major enterprises of the machine building, power industry, and other priority avenues are concentrated here.

The so-called conversion is a far from simple process. The conversion of some defense industry production units involves complications like the radical retooling of production areas, the professional retraining of a large number of specialists, and the solution of the question of their employment and social security. Of course, this demands both time and costs.

This was proved yet again during the meetings the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee had with workers from Kharkov's "Zavod imeni Malysheva" Production Association. Its shops and scientific subdivisions provided the venues for detailed discussions on the likelihood of the enterprise getting involved as early as possible in the solution of the strictly peaceful tasks of the Soviet economy's development.

The Soviet state's foreign policy course and the talks on reduction of conventional arms also imply a quantitative reduction of our armored and tank equipment. Of course, this cannot fail to affect the vital interests of a

large collective which has, for decades on end, specialized in the creation [sozdaniye] of these awesome weapons. What will happen to these people in the future? Is the country's defense might not likely to be weakened—these were the questions that occupied a central position in conversations with production workers and in conferences with specialists.

Full employment for machine builders in highly skilled work is guaranteed by the very course of the radical economic reform. The association has yet to have its weighty say in the technical rteequipping of agriculture, of virtually all agro-industrial complex sectors, and of the services sphere.

Examples of the machine builders' new output were shown: A highly maneuverable forklift, a compact powerful motor that can be widely used to drive various types of equipment, and units for the food industry and public catering enterprises. All these articles meet high technical standards and are acutely needed by the national economy.

This is why, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, they must be in series production as early as possible. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to make broader use of the possibility of production sharing, including with other defense industry enterprises. Such ties are already being established in the solution of targeted tasks. The sales of new output in the wholesale domestic market, which the economic reform is bringing into being, will give the labor collective substantial benefits whose primary effects will be in the social sphere.

The second facet of the problem was also examined during the conversations: Arms cutbacks must in no way reduce the level of the country's defense. This, as the meetings showed, acutely perturbs people who asked the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee quite a few questions. These questions are also raised in a number of letters that have been addressed to the party Central Committee.

In order to reliably ensure the state's protection, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, it is vitally important to resolve this task from a completely different angle—not by quantity of arms but by the top technical potential of everything the defense industry complex supplies to the Soviet Armed Forces. This fully applies to armored and tank equipment. The potential of a series of vehicles was displayed in action at the test site, and there were conversations with their creators and testers.

The country is looking with hope at the involvement of the defense industry complex in the solution of the most important national economic tasks. But there are different approaches toward the implementation of this task. Specifically, it is important to switch to the civilian sectors the most effective technologies and materials, the high standards of labor organization, and the exacting attitude toward output quality.

These problems were examined in detail during a meeting between the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the plant's aktiv members. He dwelled on the main trends that are typical of today's decisive stage of perestroyka, and emphasized the need to increase the contribution by every labor collective to the implementation of set tasks. One of these tasks is to boost the output of consumer goods so as to fully satisfy the domestic market.

During a visit to the Kharkov plant named for T.G. Shevchenko, special attention was given to the development of the enterprise's social sphere. There was a tour of the new medical center.

Equipped to meet the latest demands by modern medicine, it was built using the plant's own funds and the collective's own labor. The attractive multistory block offers production workers and their families an opportunity to receive virtually any treatment there. Active preventive medicine is practiced on a broad scale.

The tour of the clinic proved yet again that wherever the solution of social questions is given paramount attention, the results are truly weighty and virtually everyone can benefit from them.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked at length about the living conditions and daily life of people in Kharkov. He also toured rayons still under development and a number of stores and public catering enterprises and, together with specialists, examined the possibility of improving their work.

A final conversation was held in the Kharkov Oblast party committee. It focused on boosting the role of party organizations and CPSU members in accelerating the perestroyka process. This key question was examined from the positions of the recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee. A major place was occupied by problems of deepening regional economic accountability and organizing the work of party committees in preparation for the forthcoming local soviet elections.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied on his tour of Kharkov Oblast by V.P. Mysnichenko, first secretary of the oblast party committee; O.S. Velyakov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Defense Industry Department; B.M. Belousov, USSR minister of the defense industry; and V.D. Kryuchkov, chief of a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee department.

Stavropol Kray KGB Official Interviewed

PM0208192589 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 p 4

[Interview with Colonel Yevgeniy Grigoryevich Sheremetyev of Stavropol Kray State Security Administration by correspondent Sergey Pyatkovskiy: "Courage Is Demanded of Everyone. Conversation With KGB Official Whose Name Is Known to Everyone"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Our correspondent Sergey Pyatkovskiy recently met with Colonel Yevgeniy Grigoryevich Sheremetyev, the official from the Stavropol Kray State Security Administration responsible for the most dangerous part of the work to free the children seized by the Yakshiyants group. [passage omitted]

[Pyatkovskiy] Yevgeniy Grigoryevich, it is surprising how easy it was for Yakshiyants to cobble together his group. He rapidly assembled people with whom he was unacquainted and incited them to commit such a serious crime....

[Sheremetyev] That is right. But there is nothing surprising with that. That is typical of the criminal world—that is how bandit groups geared toward one specific crime are often formed. These groups are short-lived. That is what makes it difficult to combat them. But it is also where their weakness lies. They prepare for the planned act in a hurry before the eyes of many people around them. Everything is very primitive and commonplace. It turned out in court that at least 11 people who were in contact with the criminals knew what was to happen. For instance, there was the following story .. The gang seized witness Kozayev's "Niva" car the day before they seized the bus. Kozayev himself was bound and put on a sofa, he heard all their conversations and heard them say that he should be "removed." Yakshiyants leaned over him with a hatchet and asked: "Well, what are we going to do with you?" Escaping to freedom by chance, this man literally sang for joy that he had survived. But he did not go to the law-enforcement organs...

[Pyatkovskiy] Denunciations are unpopular. However, it is not a question of denunciations here.

[Sheremetyev] That is right. Denunciations are associated with lawlessness, with the disgusting tale-telling that arises when expected and encouraged. I believe that our society is above that now. But some people are inclined to keep silent even when disaster threatens people and the state. There is no need for denunciations. Believe me, there are now enough competent and intelligent people in KGB organs who clearly realize this. But, dear comrades, we intend to build a rule-of-law state! Who will build it—the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], the Prosecutor's Office? We will only be able to build it all together. Everyone is required to show civic courage, dignity, and principledness. Any of these 11 people could have prevented the crime. But everyone kept mum. Then their silence "made work" for the USSR and Israeli Governments, KGB and MVD staffers, Israeli security services, the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, the Foreign Trade Bank, the pilots of the Il-76, the Tu-154 and the Israeli interceptors, the airports at Mineralnyye Vody, "Sheremetyevo-1," and "Ben-Gurion," firefighters, and medics... Thousands of people and the best equipment were used to prevent a most terrible incident. All this serious work could have been avoided at the very outset by an honest courageous word from just one person—any of the 11. But they preferred to sit on the fence.

[Pyatkovskiy] Different things are being written and said about state security organs today....

[Sheremetyev] People are mainly writing about the past. The causes of the tragic consequences for the country are being studied. A great many bitter, very bitter truths are being uncovered. Documents indicate that during the years of the repressions United State Political Administration bodies also sustained a terrible blow. Such splendid security officers as A. Artuzov, M. Latsis, Ya. Berzin, M. Kedrov, Ya. Peters, I. Unshlikht, and many others—more than 20,000 in all—died. That is, the way to lawlessness was systematically cleared—bodies defending the revolution became the apparatus of the repressions. All this is true... But I ask you to realize that I take as a personal insult the attempts by people to tar me and my present colleagues with the same brush as the rogues whose hands are steeped in blood. Believe me, I am not defending the official status. I was simply born in 1939...

[Pyatkovskiy] Could the country get by without KGB organs now in 1989?

[Sheremetyev] Some people are already calling for the "sword to be sheathed." I consider these appeals to be at the least unserious. Perestroyka also needs to be defended. We must save our economy from the plague of organized crime. We must imprison not those who have stolen a kilogram, although they must be punished, but those who steal on a grand scale and are now building palatial residences. We must find an antidote to the bloody pogroms that are flaring up in various areas. Believe me, I know my colleagues' capabilities and their professionalism and I am convinced that if you instruct us to combat the mafia and the racketeers, they will be pulverized. People will quite justifiably be grateful to security officers. Incidentally, while we are talking about my department's problems—I am wholeheartedly in favor of glasnost! For we were hushed up to such an extent that the people simply do not know what we do and they think: They just sit there... I recently told PRAVDA everything that happened in Mineralnyye Vody. Letters are now coming in: "I read the article and realized what a KGB worker does and what his position is..." There are many interesting, heroic people among

my colleagues who have highly complex operations behind them. But these people are only known to a narrow circle of professionals.

[Pyatkovskiy] All of us cannot help but be worried by the following question: Are there guarantees that the state security organs will not revert to their antithesis once again?

[Sheremetyev] I see what you mean. This question, if you recall, was also raised at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Unfortunately, the discussion was often carried out on an emotional level. I very much respect, for instance, Yuriy Vlasov, who spoke at the Congress. I always worshiped his talent, strength, and good sense. This man is able to think rationally and constructively and is capable of alternative decisions. But even his speech contained emotions, emotions... It is just a pity. We need concrete proposals. I believe that a law must be adopted on state security organs. It must stipulate everything—security officials' job, their methods of work, who should supervise them, and how they must be protected against bureaucratic pressure. [passage omitted]

Fishermen's Union Supports Workers' Demands

18280268 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Aug 89 p 4

[Report on interview with V.V. Kuzmenok, chairman of the Central Committee of the Fish Industry Workers' Trade Union, by A. Kozlov, TRUD correspondent, Moscow: "There Will Be No Concessions; A Trade Union Position"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] **Our newspaper has reported on the dispute of the fishermen of the country with the USSR Minrybkhoz [Ministry of the Fish Industry] and the Central Committee of the Fish Industry Workers' Trade Union ("Distrust Arose...", 27 June; and "Where the Millions Are Going," 12 July, this year). In the middle of July an expanded plenum of the central committee of the trade union of the industry was convened, during which the central committee was sharply criticized for unsatisfactory work in protecting the rights and interests of the workers. The plenum dismissed N.L. Matrosov, the chairman of the central committee of the trade union, and F.M. Korovin, the secretary, from their positions. V.V. Kuzmenok and G.C. Shapovalov were selected on the basis of competition to be the new managers.**

V.V. Kuzmenok, chairman of the central committee of the trade union, responds to questions from a TRUD correspondent.

[Kozlov] Vladimir Vladimirovich, of the eight candidates for the post of chairman of the central committee of the trade union, the participants of the plenum preferred you, figuring, apparently, that you are the very person who will lead trade union work in the industry out of its apparent stagnation....

[Kuzmenok] Fishermen's work is hard work. They are at sea for several months; they work night and day on a continuously rocking deck; they live in a metal "box," which in itself is injurious to health; and there is also separation from the family and the lack of conveniences and comforts that an individual has on shore... And the pay of fishermen has already dropped to a low level. If you add to this a 20-year wait for an apartment and many other unresolved social questions, then there is nothing surprising in the fact that there has been such a splash of dissatisfaction in the industry, and that the matter has reached a crisis of trust in the managers of the ministry and the trade union.

There is no proper attention to the industry on the part of the government of the country either. But the fish industry, along with agriculture, provides food for the Soviet people. And while the government appropriates huge sums for the development of agriculture, the Minrybkhoz does not share in such attention. In the meantime, our 250,000-260,000 fishermen provide the population with one-fourth of its total animal protein. But there is a tremendous difference between the contribution of the fishermen to feeding the population and the concern on the part of the state for the fishermen...

On the whole, quite a few problems have piled up for us, and they must be resolved without delay...

[Kozlov] In your opinion, which ones are top-priority?

[Kuzmenok] They are all top-priority. Regional conferences of fishermen were held before the central committee plenum. The initiative for their conduct did not come from the trade unions or the administration, but from the rank and file fishermen. Quite recently the miners, to attract attention to their own social problems, chose a strike as a lever to apply pressure. The workers of our industry, understanding the negative consequences of such a step on their part for the people, took another path.

At first, in maritime area conferences, they stated all of their claims to the ministry, the trade union, and the government, and afterwards, at an expanded plenum of the central committee of the trade union to which 100 representatives of the seagoing personnel were invited, they summarized their problems, outlined ways for resolving the most pressing tasks, and agreed that at the next special trade union congress in 1990 they would discuss what they succeeded in doing, approve a program for eliminating deficiencies in the social and economic spheres of the industry, and examine how to develop the fish industry further.

A part of what was outlined has already been realized. The decision of the plenum concerning an immediate increase in the standards of pay of up to 33 percent of the position rate of pay in foreign currency to crews of ships that sail abroad has already gone into effect. This money will be paid to the fishermen starting with 1 July 1989—

"backdated," so to speak. The necessary finances for these purposes have already been partially found. There are variants also of how to "acquire" additional money (from internal earnings) for additional pay to fishermen for work at night and for harmful conditions of work.

Seagoing personnel have been switched to a 5-day workweek. For example, this has already been implemented in the "Kaliningradrybprom" [Kaliningrad fishing industry]. The central committee has queried the government also about leaving half of the profits and 85 percent of the earned currency with enterprises of the industry...

[Kozlov] And if they refuse?

[Kuzmenok] This is a demand of all of the workers in the industry and, naturally, we will persist in it. We can say here clearly that there will be no concessions to the government. We must resolve numerous socioeconomic problems, and the fishermen themselves want to take charge of earned moneys. I am confident that the collectives will be able to expend them with the greatest efficiency.

[Kozlov] In their letters to TRUD, the fishermen accuse the central committee of the trade union of being led by the managers of the USSR Minrybkhoz, that it connives with them, and that it does not protect the rights of maritime workers.

[Kuzmenok] This has stopped. I think, forever. And, indeed, local trade union committees should take a strict position in protecting the rights of the people. One of the demands of our collectives is to eliminate economic management elements that are unnecessary from an economic standpoint. For example, they demand the removal of maritime area production associations with their cumbersome apparatus and establish associations of economically independent enterprises. The trade union central committee not only supported this proposal, but is trying to achieve its speediest implementation. I repeat that we require resources for our social needs. Under the current forms of economic management, it is complicated to acquire them, and especially to increase them. Under economic independence, the enterprises will earn them quicker. Therefore, we will not permit the ministry to prolong the process of a progressive perestroyka of the fish industry.

[Kozlov] How does the trade union central committee intend to resolve the most critical problem in the industry, the housing problem?

[Kuzmenok] A particularly difficult situation has developed in the fishing enterprises. Under the housing construction plans, there is no monetary and, consequently, material assurance. What is the problem? The prices for raw fish and products have remaind at practically the same level for many years, and the pay for fuel, technical, and other types of supplies is increasing. That is why it is more and more difficult to acquire the necessary resources for social needs. Fishermen of kolkhozes [collective farm] are in an especially disastrous situation.

There are two ways out of the situation. First, to increase the prices for fish products. But everyone understands that it is not possible to do this: High prices will affect the living standard of the Soviet people. The second variant is to increase the deduction from profits in favor of the work collectives, which I have already talked about. We are waging a struggle for the adoption of this variant, and we do not intend to retreat.

[Kozlov] Such persistence, apparently, is also necessary in the resolution of other problems?

[Kuzmenok] Undoubtedly. We are very disturbed by coastal collectives, especially by the women's situation in the fish combines. There they make up the main contingent. For the time being, they are not striking, and they are not shouting. There is no strength for yelling... For example, in Kaliningrad in a factory that manufactures fishing equipment, the working conditions and level of pay are not only lower than those of other industries, but beneath all criticism.

The first thing we have done now to start resolving this problem is to bring the people's schedule of work and rest into conformity with the KZoT [Code of Labor Laws] and the USSR Constitution. There are more than enough violations here—their number is increasing with the introduction of the leasing system, the appearance of cooperatives, and the development of individual labor activity. The trade union central committee will uncompromisingly eradicate such violations. The managers of ministries, enterprises, and cooperatives should not judge too severely....

In conclusion, I would like to say something about this. Our trade union revenues are now made up of membership dues. And why should we not be able to earn money for ourselves in another way? For example, investing trade union money and sums that the fishermen have, including hard currency, in various economically profitable measures. Let us say a fisherman has earned $500, he has left to go to sea, and his money is lying idle. Why not put it into circulation?

We are now engaged in developing this question, and I think that we will find the necessary solution.

The first measures implemented by the new managers of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of the Fishing Industry inspire confidence that here, finally, there is serious determination to break out of the bureaucratic armor that has fettered the industry's trade union. The resoluteness with which the main trade union staff of fishermen is going after problems and the nontypical variants of their solutions are impressive.

The industry is beginning to prepare for a special trade union congress. In each region, and this is also for the first time, initiative groups will be established that in essence will prepare the congress: collect, analyze, and summarize proposals, and develop ways of resolving urgent problems. Well, we will hope that today's aggressive optimism of the managers of the trade union central committee will make local trade union work aggressive as well.

CPSU Official Comments on Interethnic Issues

PM1508090189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Zadornovskiy, "leading staffer" at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel G. Lisenkov under the rubric "Interethnic Relations: Scientist's Opinion": "There Is No Alternative to Internationalism"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] The exacerbation of interethnic relations and clashes between the center and certain republics worry all Soviet people. As is well known, a CPSU Central Committee plenum will be held shortly to examine questions of nationalities policy. On the threshold of this plenum it is very important to conduct an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the current situation in the sphere of interethnic relations and analyze the possible ways of restructuring them. Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel G. Lisenkov talked about this with Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Zadornovskiy, leading staffer at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

[Lisenkov] Bronislav Bronislavovich, everyone is aware that we are late in reforming nationalities policy. I would like to hear right away why this has happened.

[Zadornovskiy] If you refer to M.S. Gorbachev's recent speech on central television, it raises these questions in a trenchant and frank fashion. I will only add that no one in our country engaged in conducting an overall analysis of the contradictions in nationalities policy until recently. In my opinion, a most important element has been neglected. Experience, notably world experience, shows that there is invariably an increased need at sharp turning points in history in a multiethnic society for people to examine previous deformations in a more attentive and scrupulous fashion. Thus it is quite natural that various types of sociopolitical tension are also emerging in the sphere of interethnic relations.

The modern phase in the development of Soviet society is characterized by the fact that we have realized the need to take stock of the past in a profound and honest manner. But the need to correct interethnic relations and the review of certain current national-state structures must not take the form of total destruction. We will not achieve harmony in that way. Let me point out that dialectics are necessary in interpreting Leninist traditions and present-day realities.

I believe that this question will be raised at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

[Lisenkov] Then why, in your opinion, is the word "internationalism" heard increasingly rarely?

[Zadornovskiy] Strictly speaking, it is not a matter of how often a word is heard but of how this word is implemented and put into action. Let us recall how the country's peoples reacted to the natural disaster that befell Armenia. The fact that the internationalist consciousness of every one of us who constitute the unified fraternal union is now being subjected to substantial strain is another matter.

As we can see, new approaches are necessary in working people's internationalist education, in addition to further analysis of certain elements of internationalism and rejection of dogmas that have failed to prove their worth.

[Lisenkov] It is probably hard to analyze all the new aspects of this work straightaway. But what must be done first?

[Zadornovskiy] I believe that we must first understand the reasons behind the loss of balance in national relations. This process is proceeding in a difficult, if not excruciating fashion. The following question comes to the fore here: Has internationalism not lost its attraction, effectiveness, and constructiveness? The question is by no means farfetched since not only neologisms with negative connotations such as "superinternationalist," incautiously coined by certain representatives of the creative intelligentsia, but also conceptual assumptions casting doubts on the priority nature of internationalist criteria in nationalities policy have begun to appear in the press.

But internationalism as an important component of world outlook, policy, and organizing principle in the activity of the working class and its party is no mere intellectual structure but a reflection of an objective process brought about by economic requirements. Integration processes at both interethnic and interstate level are a progressing reality today in both world systems. Take Western Europe: The EEC countries are studying the question of introducing a single monetary unit and removing border barriers and are abandoning passports in the generally recognized sense...

The dynamism of international processes is not only overcoming or even smashing national frameworks but is also giving rise to a defensive reaction on the part of the national, a reaction which often assumes extreme forms in the shape of separatist trends and endeavors to pin hopes on total sovereignty—economic and political....

[Lisenkov] As I understand it, you are referring to the Baltic republics...

[Zadornovskiy] Not only the Baltic republics, although their proposals, demands, and complaints are the most radical and weighty. But I want to emphasize, for instance, that republican economic accountability is a most important element in the future economy—it is our future. Every republic and every oblast must be responsible for the quality and effectiveness of its economy. But the prevailing economic ties within the country must not be simplified or destroyed.

I want to draw your attention to the following reality: It is no secret that the needs of republics or regions do not always properly reflect their contribution to the assets of the whole people, which gives rise to freeloading sentiments in some people and a sense of dissatisfaction in others and does not accord with the strengthening of internationalist consciousness.

Thus, of the 107 main sectors of the national economy on the balance sheet, as of the beginning of this decade the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consumed output from 105 of them and supplied 105 in return; the Ukraine 106 and 104 respectively; Uzbekistan 107 and 84; Kazakhstan 96 and 74; Armenia 100 and 68; and so on. It is clear that knowledge and understanding of such statistics are extremely useful in elaborating correct notions of the linkages between and interdependence of the Soviet republics. Sharp debates are now under way over expressions in terms of value of interrepublican and interregional mutual deliveries, however, the truth must be found and made public in one way or another.

One more point. It appears that people in the localities associate the bureaucratic apparatus and monopolism by departments unequivocally with Moscow and, since Moscow is also the capital of Russia, with the Russian people. This impedes real consolidation in the struggle for economic perestroyka.

The people of Riga devised a new original type of cake and could have begun manufacturing it straightaway. But owing to some departmental directives, the authorization for its production can only come... from Moscow!

In late June and early July, "roundtables" were held at the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, and the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute on problems of interethnic relations. Interrepublican economic ties were given serious study there. But something else also became clear. There has still been little research into these questions.

[Lisenkov] The "roundtable" sittings are regarded as an important element in the preparation for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum...

[Zadornovskiy] I would like to note the creative quest in the elaboration of nationalities policy. A base has been created for subsequent theoretical developments. An important point is that it was noted that, despite all the current complex processes, there is no alternative to internationalism. This is no theoretical abstraction but the practical experience of historical development.

Of course, priority for the international does not by any means signify oblivion or disregard for the national, as happened under conditions of unruliness and laissez-faire in nationalities policy in the recent past.

But the stereotypes are still at work. Hence there are many problems. In the present confrontation over Nagorno-Karabakh, emotions and ambitions clearly prevail over common sense. This, unfortunately also spilled over into the "roundtable," when Azerbaijani and Armenian scientists drew different conclusions on the same questions on the basis of identical facts. Steps to meet one another halfway were not taken even there.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum will indisputably define fundamentally new approaches in nationalities policy and will give social scientists' studies a new boost. Today we need to show more restraint, consideration, and responsibility in any contact with national relations and resolutely escape from the formalism, red tape, and attempts to resolve these complex tasks by means of ultimatums.

Deputies Cited on State Enterprise Law Changes

18280269 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Aug 89 p 1

[Report on interviews with various people's deputies by A. Pankov: "The Law Is There, We Must Act"; dates, places of interviews not given]

[Text] [Pankov] One of the significant legislative acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet was the adoption of amendments to the Law on the State Enterprise. How do the deputies (incidentally, they adopted the amendments almost unanimously) and managers of the national economy and enterprises themselves evaluate the law?

A. Kazamarov, deputy general director of the "Geofizika" NPO [Scientific Production Association]: It was a splendid decision by the Supreme Soviet. I would say that it bordered on surprise that such revolutionary changes were proposed. A basis has appeared for acquiring independence. Our NPO will make use of this immediately and go over to leasing.

M. Bocharov, director of the Butovskiy building materials combine: I am not disposed to such high-flown epithets. Revolutionary or not—life will tell. Let us see how the attitude of the ministries toward these amendments turns out, and with what speed the obsolete standards acts will be rescinded. Perhaps while they are being rescinded we will approve the new law at the autumn session.

[Pankov] But, you see, you yourself wanted to introduce similar amendments personally. At a meeting of the interregional group, you spoke and justified your proposals with the fact that life requires a quicker achievement of the economic independence of enterprises.

M. Bocharov: Of course, a forward step was taken. But these amendments will not bring about significant changes in the economic mechanism. It is all a compromise, a temporary decision. Indeed, I would not begin to call this a revolutionary step by the government because it is a forced measure in response to the demands of strikers and many people's deputies to the contradictions of two laws—one concerning the state enterprise and the other concerning cooperatives.

As the director of an enterprise that has already shifted to a lease contract, I am more interested, on the whole, in the economic mechanism, and not in individual amendments, even though they are progressive.

G. Popov, doctor of economic sciences: I think that under current conditions the amendments, nonetheless, denote a substantial move forward. This is the result of a lot of work by the commission on economic reform, which is headed by Comrade Abalkin, and a result of the fact that many deputies and our interregional group introduced earnestly reasoned proposals for changing the Law on the State Enterprise.

K.D. Prunskene, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR: The amendments, of course, introduce a lot that is useful to an enterprise, but in my opinion we should have made more valuable and more revolutionary amendments—giving labor collectives economic independence without any stipulations. For some reason, they associated this independence only with the shift to the leasing method. But if they are working on the first or the second cost accounting model?.. Will the desire not surface in ministries to hold back the leasing method as well, if only to keep the enterprise under its subordination? For me as an ideologist, the problem of departmentalism is more important, perhaps, than the economic independence of the republics because the Lithuanian enterprises of union subordination in connection with the switch of the republic to regional cost accounting should be outside a department.

And what is a "goszakaz [state order] that is less than 100 percent"? One hundred is not permissible—but 99 is? I do not think that the republic's enterprises will be happy with this. It is recommended that a goszakaz be established next year that is not more than 80 percent, and afterwards it should go even lower. And if we move in the creation of a Soviet market with such cautious steps as these amendments suggest, then I fear we will not create it at all, and we will not succeed.

[Pankov] And you, Ivan Stepanovich, as a representative of a higher element in the management of the economy and the administrative system, what do you think about the amendments?

I. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: Simply, I am "for."

[Pankov] You think that this temporary, compromise decision is reason to hope for the appearance of nondepartmental enterprises?

I. Silayev: You see, all the same there should be a division of labor in an economic strategy. And everything that is associated with the organization of production and the other processes that the enterprise can handle by itself must be given to it. Discussions at the session of the Supreme Soviet, it seems to me, were not aimed at this specifically. The role of the minister is not to tie the collective's hands but, on the contrary, to promote a regime of maximum favored treatment in order that the enterprises work more successfully. And the adoption of the amendments resolve this problem.

[Pankov] Nikolay Ilyich, did you not overdo it in your speech after the report of Comrade Abalkin with your enthusiastic evaluation of the amendments?

N. Travkin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee on questions of work of the soviets of people's deputies and the development of management and self-government: I compare them to the initial variant proposed by the industrial commission. That proposal would not have given us anything substantial at all.

These amendments are the most serious act taken at the first session. And, moreover, I also spoke emotionally for the reason that I wanted to appeal to all committees and commissions: "Begin to get up from your knees and stop looking from below to the government above..."

I do not consider the reasoning that the legally binding acts interfere to be fully justifiable. Once the amendments are adopted—and this is the law—other decrees may not be recognized. And everything now depends on the boldness and resoluteness of the collectives themselves. We gave them the law.

'Dissident' Interviewed on USSR Reforms

PM0308092189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Zhores Medvedev by A. Illesh: "In Search of Common Sense"; date, place of interview not given; first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Zhores Medvedev is a name that is widely known in the West. He is still called the "number one dissident," in view of the fact that he was among the first to suffer for heterodox views, at a time when the word

"dissident" was not yet common currency, when compatriots were still able to raise their voices in defense of human rights and the apparatus still listened to them.... Tvardovskiy and Kapitsa, Tendryakov and Timofeyev-Resovskiy, and other well-known scholars and writers helped Zhores Medvedev to get out of the lunatic asylum in Kaluga. But it only temporarily modified the destiny of the laboratory chief at the Institute of Medical Radiology in Obninsk. He was in the middle of a one-year assignment in Britain when he was summoned to the embassy and told to surrender his Soviet passport. Thus he became an unwilling exile.

Some 17 years later—what amazing times were are living in!—I met the man at the USSR Supreme Soviet. He was attending the first Soviet parliamentary hearings—about the nuclear tragedy in the Urals in 1957. It would be hard to find a more independent and competent expert—indeed, Zh. Medvedev wrote a book about the accident, which occurred near the city of Kyshtym in a nuclear waste storage facility. A man with a foreign passport on the rostrum at the country's supreme forum—it has never happened before. But we must get used to unusual situations of this kind if we are serious about pluralism of opinions.

So here we have Zhores Medvedev, author of books about Lysenko, Khrushchev, Andropov, and Gorbachev, and works about science in the USSR, violation of human rights, and democracy.

[Illesh] Who did you want to see first in Moscow and who did you actually see first?

[Medvedev] In both cases, my twin brother Roy. He came direct from a Supreme Soviet sitting to meet me; he said they had been reluctant to let him come—quorum problems. There were many relatives, including my son, who lives in Kalinin. And although my brother and I did not invite any correspondents along, I was greeted by reporters from THE WASHINGTON POST and Swedish television. But every cloud has a silver lining: It is a major problem getting a cab at Sheremetyevo. So we took advantage of the Western journalists' presence and went back to Roy's place in their cars. On the way we took a look at the city. My impression of Moscow was one of neglect. Aged buildings, shabby buses, everything seems old somehow, run-down. It gave me a nasty shock.

[Illesh] The behavior of the people—has that changed?

[Medvedev] Yes, of course. People are talking about everything. In the subway, on the street, in queues—everyone is utterly uninhibited. (I did not announce right away that I was from Britain). But when they found out I was a foreigner they immediately began to curse everything in even stronger terms.

[Illesh] Do you subscribe to the Soviet press?

[Medvedev] Yes, I do a lot of reading; I receive IZVESTIYA, too.

[Illesh] Do your impressions, gleaned from reading the papers, correspond to what you have seen, to what people are talking about here?

[Medvedev] I came to attend the "East-West" seminar. Its theme is global security and arms control. The level of the discussion is much lower than that of the discussion in the press. I read all the stenographic accounts of the Congress. Now they were more interesting than any detective novel! I don't think the officials are ready yet to formulate their own opinions, independent of the leadership. They are discussing what has already been discussed.

[Illesh] What aspect of the congress work seemed to you the most interesting and challenging?

[Medvedev] My impression was that as a result of the debate there has been a shift of power—the party apparatus has lost complete control of the formation of political, public, and any other opinion. It is clear to me, as one who has lived in the West for a while, that the congress was operating in accordance with the multiparty principle (although at every official level they say that a multiparty system is not necessary). What I mean is that every regional and any other group behaved at the congress as if it was a separate party. The deputies defended their own interests against other groups' interests and argued among themselves and with the government. One could call this pluralism of opinions; it reminded me of a a multiparty parliament.

[Illesh] Were you surprised that your brother Roy, who was also persecuted during the stagnation years, became a deputy?

[Medvedev] Indeed, although I assumed he would be nominated. But neither he nor I really believed he would be successful...

[Illesh] Let us imagine you had been a full-fledged participant in the debates in the Soviet parliament. What would your first speech at the congress have been about?

[Medvedev] My first speech would have been about the status of science, without a doubt: It has been a professional interest of mine ever since the days when I was studying Lysenko and genetics. How do you get out of a situation where Soviet science has fallen far behind Western science in many spheres? The fundamental issues of biology, biotechnology, computer technology—this is where there have been obvious failures. I would have put forward a program on what needs to be done to bring Soviet science to the forefront.

[Illesh] And do you have it, this program?

[Medvedev] I believe so. It is easier for me to look for ways out of the difficult situation science is in because I have learned a great deal from working in Britain for many years and visiting America and the FRG. Unfortunately, there was no major discussion of science at the congress. There should have been...

[Illesh] From the fact that Soviet science is lagging behind in the most modern areas, some people deduce that we have gone soft in the head...

[Medvedev] I have no doubt that we have not gone soft in the head. I do not go along with the theory that the nation's gene pool took a battering during Stalin's terror. Of course, a great deal of talent was lost. But, to be honest, the group of young people around Timofeyev-Resovskiy, working in Obninsk on molecular biology and on radiobiology, and those I worked with at the Timiryazev Academy were much more brilliant than the young people I see in Britain, at my institute. So if one is talking about post-graduates, junior scientific staff, they are more brilliant, more talented in the USSR. My conclusion is that in Western conditions they would accomplish more than Western scientists in their place. But the system of selection of subjects for research is much better abroad. For example, some areas of electronics are not studied at all in Britain. Why? Because it is done far better in the United States. So there is no point putting effort and resources into this. But in the Soviet Union the obsessive desire to have one's own of everything is too strong. It is terrible, because it forces the USSR to copy someone all the time, and copying means constantly trying to keep up.

[Illesh] In what areas of Soviet science did we retain the lead, in your view?

[Medvedev] There have been areas where we were in the lead. In space, for example. They still exist there today. But in other areas, unfortunately, one can only talk about vast projects. For example, the USSR has built the world's biggest telescope, the biggest accelerator... Indeed, a very powerful accelerator was created in Serpukhov that provided specialists with the maximum potential. But when a comparative analysis was carried out of how many important publications had been based on this accelerator and others, it turned out that considerably more had been completed on the basis of the far smaller accelerator not far from New York. The thing is that all the Soviet "services" backing up the accelerator—literature, computers, and information retrieval systems—are inferior to the U.S. equivalents...

[Illesh] "Agriculture in the USSR" is your latest book. The food problem is crucial in terms of democracy and, indeed, perestroyka as a whole. What is Zhores Medvedev's current view of the agrarian situation in the USSR?

[Medvedev] I spent longer on this book than on any other—7 years (it covers the period from the repeal of the serf law to 1986). I was full of optimism when I started it, but I finished it in a much more pessimistic mood. That was due to the vast quantity of material I had had to analyze. Now I can see that my conclusions coincide with those that are being written and talked about today—on cotton, for example. I was convinced that the sowing of cotton had to be reduced because it was damaging the ecology of Uzbekistan and the Aral Sea and destroying the population. Many people now share the view that the family farming system [fermerstvo] must be resurrected, although I believe that the kolkhozes must not be completely disbanded. I'll tell you why. In the first place (I have studied farming in the United States and in Europe), it does not have the proper technical backup as yet in the USSR. And without the proper input of equipment and energy, family farming cannot be truly effective. It is not enough just to dole out land; you need much more. At the moment the Soviet farmer [fermer] lacks special equipment, independent credit, and all the things his business needs. Moreover, the rural population contains an enormous number of old men and women, local soviet employees, summer visitors, and pensioners... The active rural population is extremely small, as statistics show. If I am not mistaken, there are 11 million families in kolkhozes at the moment. And the number of kolkhoz members is exactly the same—11 million. Under Stalin, for example, two and more people in the family worked on the kolkhoz. Then this figure dwindled and now it is exactly one. So there is potentially one farmer in the family. Given this ratio, it is very difficult creating a real family farm. Moreover, it is a big country and the conditions vary. In some places, of course, the process will be successful—in Estonia, for example, or Latvia. In some places it will be utterly impossible to seriously rely on farmers. So this question must be solved, taking specific circumstances into account. But on one condition: The countryside must be no worse off than the city. Otherwise nothing would happen. When people believe that by going to the countryside they are going to a calm, healthy, and comfortable life, a real, long-term change will begin. In Britain the farmer does not work from dawn till dusk; he is not a slave to his own fields. He has access to all the urban amenities you can think of—transport, telephones, doctors, mail, and buses, which take his children to school... The only difference from city life is the fresh air.

[Illesh] You have written about science. You have written about biology, radiobiology, nuclear disasters, and the censoring of ideas. You have written about the closed society. In short, even in your scientific books you have engaged in political activity. The Brezhnev administration's assessment of this activity was straightforward—it deprived you of your citizenship. In your view, has the sum total of your scientific and, above all, publicistic work been of use in present-day terms?

[Medvedev] I think my work has been useful, although I do not believe it has had any significant effect on Soviet society. My books were known to a select few and

circulated among scientific personnel. But perestroyka was not brought about by books, of course. It was precipitated by political changes, a reaction to changes in the economy. And it came to fruition within society, quite independently of my involvement. But I take pride in the fact that I predicted much of it....

[Illesh] You have been modest about your own influence on attitudes in our country. Let me put the question in a different way: The sum total of the activity of emigre intellectuals and sixties and seventies heterodoxy in general—did this have a marked influence on the movement toward democracy?

[Medvedev] I would put it this way: The most brilliant individuals—Solzhenitsyn, Rostropovich, Baryshnikov, Nuriyev—had an obvious effect on the creative intelligentsia when they acquired worldwide reputations. But now that I have been here and talked with ordinary people, I realize that the ordinary public, who knew nothing about us, was also ready; ordinary people had also reached the conclusion that many changes were needed. Our people were much better educated and had more common sense than the dissidents and leaders of this movement had supposed in the past. Quite simply, we had underestimated the people's common sense.

Roy and I began, but did not complete—the new processes prevented us—a book entitled "In Search of Common Sense." But the people had not entirely lost this common sense. It was just that the people had no way to show it. As soon as they saw the opportunity—the elections of people's deputies—people showed themselves and presented their positions. Indeed, these people are investigating our history and the very essence of the system, not by any means because Solzhenitsyn, Roy, or I wrote about this. But it is nice to see that our ideas and the ideas of people who have never had a dissident's book in their hands basically coincide.

[Illesh] Here democratization in politics is significantly ahead of democratic transformations in the economy. The deputies at the session are talking frankly about a crisis. Some pessimists are even predicting very bad prospects: from the possibility of hunger riots to civil war. If they prove to be right, then democracy will go out of the window...

[Medvedev] As history shows, totalitarianism does not solve any problems. Argentina, Chile, and Poland are evidence of this. A military dictatorship leads a modern civilized society up a blind alley.

I felt that the difficulties that are currently increasing in the USSR could result in attempts to establish a harsher centralized regime and could force a return to rigid planning, to a rigid political system as an attempt to escape from the crisis. But it seems to me that if this happens it would only delay matters. Now about the economic difficulties that are intimidating many people at the moment, causing pessimism, and so on. You see, the period the country is going through, a transitional period that is inevitable under perestroyka is bound to result in difficulties and even a decline in living standards.

But a strong hand would solve nothing. Moreover, I do not see a contender for the role of a strong hand who would be capable of leading the country to prosperity, albeit temporary. On the other hand, everyone knows how Spain looked up after Franco's death and, from being a poor country, attained European standards as a result of democracy. I believe that the democratic system, when it extends both to the economy and to politics, will offer the most magnificent opportunities.

[Illesh] The current transformations in the country are associated with the name of Gorbachev. How do you view his domestic policy?

[Medvedev] I am not enthusiastic about any political leader. My attitude toward Gorbachev and the others is pragmatic. I know of no one in the country who could do the job better than he. I am convinced that there are promising people, but they are down below still, not yet matured. A leader must mature. For example, intellectually Reagan is Gorbachev's inferior, but in America the President is not in charge of the economy, he has other tasks, for which Reagan was better suited than his rivals. But the task of leader in the Soviet Union is more difficult than in any other country: He is responsible for everything.

From this viewpoint Gorbachev comes across as a man who is coping with his tasks. In another country a leader faced with tasks of such complexity would have given up long ago. For example, Prime Minister Heath resigned because he could not cope with a miners' strike. Gorbachev is firmer and is seen by the world as someone who clearly knows what he is doing. Although, in computer terms, he is not always infallible...

[Illesh] What are you writing at the moment and what are you planning to write?

[Medvedev] I have nearly finished a book on Chernobyl. The Chernobyl accident had a big effect—it changed attidues toward many things, not right away, but gradually. Toward nuclear energy, for example, toward scientists in general, toward ecology... The next book will be about growing old: After all, I am a gerontologist. But events in the USSR could change my plans; at the moment I am tempted by the idea of a book about the move from totalitarianism to democracy.

[Illesh] To all appearances, you are a calm and rational man. But when an issue affects and stirs you, you start talking about "our country," meaning the Soviet Union. You are sincerely concerned about our situation and our problems. Who do you identify with today?

[Medvedev] In the first place, I am not isolated from the Soviet Union; part of my family, my grandchildren, are here. I think about their future and I want them to live in a good society, have a good education, and be happy. So my interests are here. But I also have a son in England, so I am also interested in that country's prosperity. I know there are people who think the worse it is for the Soviet Union, the better. I am not one of them... I am sure that Russia's prosperity and prospects depend largely on the prosperity of Europe. And vice versa.

CPSU's Relationship With Soviets Viewed

PM1508111189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA editorial: "The Party and the Soviets"]

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is over. We sat intently in front of the television in the evenings in order to find out what new decisions had been made by the highest state organ. The work of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet opened up a new phase in the development of socialism's social system. Quite extraordinary events are taking place. They are of crucial importance. And the point is not just that a fundamentally new Soviet parliament has been formed. The main point is that full state power is really being transferred to the soviets before our very eyes and a new democratic model for including the people's masses in solving statewide problems has been created.

The party and the soviets.... The question is particularly topical today. And at its basis, of course, are their mutual relations. The former practice of party diktat over the soviets at the center and at local level has become completely outmoded. Today it is unacceptable. Perestroyka has put on the agenda the creation of a new, democratic mechanism of interaction based on separating the functions of society's political vanguard, on the one hand, and power and administration, which are being transferred to the soviets, on the other.

The party formulates policy and implements it via the soviets. And this applies not just to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, but also to the union republic communist party central committees, party kray, oblast, city, and rayon committees, and kray, oblast, city, and rayon soviets. And party organs can implement their political goals through persuasion, recommendations, and consultation, through their cadres and Communists elected to the soviets. At the same time the party organizations must demand quite clearly and rigorously that CPSU members working in the soviets set an example of high responsibility for their assigned task. Communist deputies cannot be exempt from party discipline. They have a right to express their opinion on the problem being discussed, but when a decision has been made, they must carry it out. Their duty is to adopt the same stance as the Central Committee on questions arising from the party's political strategy and from the decisions of party organs at the corresponding level and to pursue and implement the party line in the soviet.

It is no secret that we are learning to work the new way as we go along. We are taking only the first steps on the road to transferring power to the soviets. Although many decisions have been made and many words spoken to the effect that there must be no supplanting of the soviets, supplanting is no rarity even today. There are objective and subjective reasons for this. First, we are living in a transitional period when the soviets are not yet ready to fully assume power. Second, as yet the appropriate legislative acts do not exist and not everywhere are there trained cadres. And finally, by no means every party committee is ready to give up its power. Some comrades have got so accustomed to diktat over the soviets that even now they are finding all kinds of loopholes for ordering them about.

This disease is chronic. Cases of unjustified interference by some party members in soviets' affairs alarmed V.I. Lenin. There is a remedy for this disease. Communists, Vladimir Ilich noted, should understand their real management task: "Not to try to do 'everything themselves,' straining themselves and failing, taking up 20 tasks and not finishing any of them, but to check the work of tens and hundreds of helpers and organize verification of their work from below, that is, by the real masses..." On the eve of the 11th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, Vladimir Ilich introduced a proposal on the need for a clear demarcation of the functions of the party and the soviets. "The party should retain general leadership of the work of all state organs together without the current all too frequent interference...."

The party is currently geared to this very approach. Many examples can be cited of party committees and soviets carrying out their functions quite successfully, tuning up the mechanism of collaboration and resolutely changing the style and methods of work. This is typical of Grodno CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom] and the oblast soviet, Krasnodar and Stavropol CPSU Kray Committees and the kray soviets, and Lipetsk and Saratov CPSU Obkoms and the oblast soviets. A creative approach and initiative quickly change the situation in the rayon or city and bring party and soviet organs closer to the working people.

However, it has to be said that some people have perceived the slogan proclaimed by the party—"All Power to the Soviets"—as a way of depriving the party of political influence and calling into question its leading role in society. There are also some Communist deputies who see the transfer of power to the soviets as a transfer of power to the deputy. Others, waving the banners of perestroyka, criticize our system and torpedo party committees' decisions.

As far as the role of the party is concerned, it must be noted with the utmost clarity that the socialist political system is inconceivable without the CPSU. History has proved: The party won the people's trust and confirmed its right to be Soviet society's political vanguard. The renewal of our socialist home cannot be successful if the party—the generator of the ideas of perestroyka, its organizer, and its mobilizing force—does not function actively.

It is very important for both the party and the soviets to strengthen their authority by action and to gain even small victories every day, every week, and every month. The roots of the exacerbation of the political situation lie in the economy. There are many reserves which could enable us to considerably reduce shortages even tomorrow and restore order in hospitals and polyclinics and in the streets... Primarily, the USSR Supreme Soviet orients us toward more rapidly implementing certain measures to extend the real rights of local soviets and strengthen their attention to urgent questions concerning people's lives. It is advisable to hold extraordinary sessions of the soviets of people's deputies in August-September, with reports from their executive and administrative organs, in order to analyze the situation which has developed in the region. Reports by soviet executive committees at the sessions will contribute to a real improvement in matters. Labor collectives, social organizations, mass movements, and citizens' gatherings must participate more actively in their preparation. It is important to constantly strengthen links between the soviets and the working people.

This style of work by party committees and soviets is dictated by life and demanded by the times.

Editorial Emphasizes 'Labor Discipline'

PM2707090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Labor Discipline. Preventing Losses of Worktime"; this editorial is a revised version of the PRAVDA 26 July First Edition editorial published on pages 53-54 of the 27 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] The state of the country's national economy was one of the main topics of debate at the recent Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Attention is also focusing on these questions at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. More than enough problems have accumulated here. Without belittling what has already been done, people's deputies are noting serious deficiencies in the economy, the unwieldiness of management structures, shortcomings in planning, shortages of good-quality products in mass demand, and much else that hinders progress and the more vigorous pursuit of perestroyka. Moreover, they are mentioning particularly often the decline of labor discipline in production as one of the causes of many deficiencies.

Labor discipline is a broad term. Poor standards of discipline means thoughtless economic decisionmaking, wasteful construction projects, and poor quality of work accompanied by major losses due to waste. It also means more absenteeism and idle time. Take for example the Chernobyl tragedy or industrial enterprise and transportation accidents. Gross violations of technological processes and of rules governing the utilization of equipment and mobile facilities, and at times downright elementary irresponsibility cause tremendous economic and moral damage and result in loss of human life.

The number of enterprises where they turn a blind eye to transgressors of labor, technological, and social discipline and have become accustomed to cases of slipshod work and deviations from the established procedure is not diminishing. There are also some people with a guaranteed wage whose main aim is not to do too much work, which is essentially also a violation of labor discipline. But the most serious production ill is waste of work time. The numerous stoppages of equipment and machinery, breakdowns at the interface between various links in the technological chain, and upsets in the planned rhythm with subcontractors are connected with absenteeism or people turning up late for work or failing to turn up at all—with the permission of "kindhearted" leaders.

For example, USSR State Committee for Statistics data show that the loss of worktime in industry due to absenteeism, idle time, and leave of absence authorized by the administration amounted to more than 23.6 million man-days last year. In other words, 24 million persons failed to report for work on one day. A random spotcheck in 317 construction industry organizations revealed downright depressing facts. Some 6 percent of workers had committed breaches of labor and production discipline, while 9 percent had been stopped from performing their duties because they had reported for work in an unsober state. It is hardly amazing that the pace and quality of construction work in our country are poor.

Look at idle time while on shift. Every day more than 1 million persons are not working because of poor production organization and irregular supplies of materials and components. The annual shortfall in output deliveries amounts to approximately R30 billion. It is no wonder that, given this state of labor discipline, we feel the effects of shortages in housing, some categories of foodstuffs, mass consumer goods, television sets, and other industrial products.

Let us pause to think: Why did the miners' strike occur? One of the main causes is the fact that, for years on end, the coal sector's leadership violated state discipline. The ministry has done very little during the years of perestroyka to ensure that the Law on the State Enterprise operated not formally but in substance. The implementation of the main provisions of economic reform at

mines and open pits was dragging on intolerably in the sector, the ministry showed little concern for the improvement of people's life.

Events in the mining regions alarmed the entire country. They were carefully analyzed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, which took soviet, economic, and trade union organs, at both central and local level, strictly to task. It was deemed necessary to immediately prepare and adopt laws, specifically on lease contracts, on the introduction of amendments to the laws on the state enterprise, on the cooperative movement, and a law on general principles of local self-management. These and other measures will help to more successfully solve the social problems and, of course, to strengthen discipline and order in production.

Strikes as a form of expression of working people's interests, deputies noted, can be justified in some respects, but they cannot be allowed to become permanent in nature. Here trade unions can do a great deal, but they are not doing so. They are to blame for the fact that the working rhythm was broken at coal sector enterprises. Trade union committees, trade union councils, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions were not really principled and persistent and failed to ensure that the workers' legitimate demands were promptly examined and satisfied prior to the strikes. The breaches of work rhythm were not caused by workers' freeloading. The miners are not asking for state handouts. They want the opportunity to earn more for their country, region, city, and themselves thanks to better economic management, an efficient pace of work, and tight labor discipline.

In every sector it is very important to correctly assess peoples' labor contribution. After all, what happens. An enterprise, shop, or team operates at a profit and generates a good income, while others make a loss, but the wage of the collectives, laggard or pacesetting, is identical. This practice is so ingrained that some people think it perfectly normal. And wage leveling lowers the standing of the honest, skillful worker and does not encourage the lazy or bad workman to do honest, creative, fully committed work. The downgrading of the assessment of actual work results slows down the growth in skills of both production and managerial personnel. Encouraging hard work is one way of getting the economy out of stagnation and enhancing work quality.

In the "Address to the Soviet People," published yesterday, the USSR Supreme Soviet notes that sustained and honest labor, as well as organization and order in production are necessary for the implementation of profound transformations of the economic structure. Firm labor discipline is an active helper of perestroyka and the basis of the country's improved economic well-being. It is also connected with reviving in every Soviet person the sense of being master of his own country and a sense of responsibility for everything being undertaken by our people.

Moscow Militia Arrests 'Gangs of Racketeers'

LD1708134889 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—During the past 24 hours Moscow militiamen have arrested five gangs of racketeers, who tried to extort money from cooperators. They beat up one of them, from whom they expected to get 40 thousands roubles. The racketeers tried to kidnap him, but were captured by agents of the department for combating organised crime.

The same department arrested several other racketeers, including members of a gang of notorious Moscow extorters. Nabbed on the same day were "outsiders", who came to the capital in search of easy prey. There were some quite unexpected people among the racket victims, apart from cooperators. For instance, 35 thousand roubles were extorted from a temporarily unemployed person and fourteen thousand from a Moscow university student.

Five pieces of fire arms were confiscated on the same day, agents of the Criminal Investigation Department discovered three TT-type pistols and 200 cartridges to them in the apartment of a temporarily unemployed resident of Dubna, a suburban community near Moscow. Another TT-type piston and sixty cartridges to it were found in an apartment in a neighbouring street. It was established that the weapons were stolen from a military depot.

Shots had to be fired that night too. The attention of traffic militiamen was attracted on Borovskoye highway by a car that topped the speed limit. The driver disregarded their order to stop. The militiamen followed in pursuit. The car stopped suddenly and three men jumped out of it trying to escape. They were pursued by traffic inspectors V. Vasilyev, N. Kuznetsov and V. Furanin. The violators threatened them and then wounded one of the militiamen with an iron bar. After firing warning shots, V. Furanin wounded one of them. The militia arrested him the next morning when he applied for medical aid to one of the moscow hospitals.

The identity of others is being established. They are suspected of having committed a grave crime.

TASS Accused of Biased Reporting on Armenia

NC1708115189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 17 August

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] Sos Movsesyan, director of the Luys publishing house, has [word indistinct] a TASS report distributed to republican newspapers. The author writes that in a brief report for the republican papers headlined "Textbooks for Armenian Students", TASS, as usual, distorted the

facts and thus once again proved that it is either unable or unwilling to provide objective information about Armenia. Movsesyan then refuted the claims in the TASS report.

Lithuanian Party Leader on Citizenship, Nationalism
LD1708182489 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, has made a televised speech late this evening. Once again we stress the fact that the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact are legally invalid in accordance to international law from the very moment they were signed, said Mr Brazauskas in his speech today. It is a great pity that the results of the investigations made by the parliamentary commission on the Soviet-Nazi pact are still unknown to the public. The whole of the world knows today that the 1939 agreements between the Stalinist Soviet Union and the Nazi Germany were immoral and shameful.

Algirdas Brazauskas appealed to the Lithuanian people once again to think over the present political situation in Lithuania and the ways of achieving the independence for Lithuania. Speaking about the shameful Soviet-Nazi pact of 1939, Mr Brazauskas stressed that its denunciation will certainly influence the public, political and social processes that are currently underway here in Lithuania. Serious disagreements have cropped up while discussing the ways and means of achieving Lithuania's independence. At present there are two main points of view on this issue: the first suggests to return back to 1940 and continue our existence from then on. The Lithuanian Communist Party leader said that he did not regard this point of view as a realistic one because Lithuania has lived through 50 years of socialist development and we can't ignore this fact altogether. Others maintain that we should condemn the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 and the Stalinist policies so that they would never occur again. According to Algirdas Brazauskas, today we should be guarded by the feeling of political reality.

The Lithuanian Communist Party leader spoke for a constructive cooperation of all the public and political forces in Lithuania. He also spoke for equality of all the ethnic minorities and religious communities in our society.

In September the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet will have to adopt documents of exceptional importance that are at present being discussed by the Lithuanian public. The most important of them is the bill on the citizenship of Lithuania. Algirdas Brazauskas has called on the MP's [members of parliament] of Lithuania to feel personal responsibility for the development of democracy in Lithuania. He also said that some viewed the efforts of the Lithuanians to take pride in being Lithuanian as nationalistic. We admire (?those) national qualities of all the people and we strive for mutual understanding and tolerance. Lithuania always was and still is a state which takes pride in the existing good relations between all the ethnic communities residing here. And besides, this is a historical necessity, said the Lithuanian Communist Party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas.

He also stressed that the sovereign rights of each nation should prevail over the political aims of the superpowers. Nobody can restrict our right to decide the ways of economic, social and cultural development of our society, and this can be done under no circumstances. We are to develop the basis of our statehood ourselves.

Lithuanian Democratic Party Congress Held
18001508 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by A. Shakhov: "In Search of a Way"]

[Text] In our stormy times many concepts are being rethought. Even those, it would seem, that are unshakeably unambiguous. To these one may add the term "like thinker."

The bitter experience of society convincingly shows that likemindedness is no guarantee for correct development. For us, it turns out, it is far more important that while conceding the right of others to think differently, we strive, nevertheless, for a common goal.

These are more or less the ideas that were expressed in the conversation I had with the delegates of the constituent congress of the Lithuanian Democratic Party [LDP], which took place on the 29th and 30th of July in Vilnius.

Those who met discussed the regulations and the program of the party, expressed their opinions on many topical issues, and passed a number of announcements and resolutions: regarding the party's views on elections, on power, on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, on socioeconomic questions and others.

P. Pechelyunas, Y. Gelazhyus, Ya. Banyavichyus, Y. Mugyavichyus, V. Dikinis, E. Malishauskas, and P. Vaytekunas delivered program reports on "The Current Political Situation", "Historical Necessity and the Current Tasks of the LDP", "The Development of the Rebirth of Lithuanian Independence", "The Views of the LDP in the Socioeconomic Perspective", "The Position of the LDP on the Question of Agricultural Reform", "The Electoral Situation in Lithuania", and "The LDP in the General Context of the Democratic Movement", respectively.

The congress adopted and confirmed regulations and a program for the LDP, elected party organs (a soviet, a presidium, a conflict commission, and an auditing commission), and formed soviet commissions and elected their chairmen. Fifty-seven members of the soviet,

whose candidacies were presented at city and rayon conferences of the LDP, were confirmed. The soviet members elected a 15 member presidium in a secret ballot.

What made the creation of a new party necessary? I asked the chairman of the organizational committee, Pyatras Vaytekunas, this question.

"Our main task is to establish the precedent of multiple parties," he said. "We feel that only a multiparty system can promote real progress. And the system that we have today, even in light of its democratization, will guarantee only temporary and shallow positive changes, since a one-party system is never anything more than the structure of power.

"We are not preparing to oppose ourselves to all of the political forces currently existing in Lithuania. Our plans are for cooperation with them on the basis of a continuous process of democratization of society. We have enough problems today. So we will attempt to find the means of solving them together."

Communist Party's Role in Estonia's Fate Viewed

LD0908195289 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 25 Jul 89, pp 2-3

[Article by Mikk Titma, Estonia Communist Party Central Committee secretary entitled: "Communists In Front of the People"; a note at the end states that this article was originally a report delivered by Titma at a public meeting in Tallin on 21 July]

[Excerpts] Forty-nine years ago the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was declared. True, only now have we reached the point where we can acknowledge publicly a long-known fact: The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic appeared as a result of a deal between Stalin and Hitler. [passage omitted]

In the events of 1940 are also hidden the roots of present tension. Injustice and the politics of force of that time irreparably discredited socialism's ideas for the Estonians, and drove a wedge in relations between the Estonians and the union which is felt to this day.

In real world politics, however, nobody will start to analyze whether the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was established by the will of the majority of the people or not. International political practice has demonstrated that the strictly juridical foundations for the appearance and disappearance of states does not in fact affect the existence of these states and their international recognition. This has been determined de facto by us belonging within the Soviet Union, and in practice all countries on the map of the world accept this.

In spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the acts signed in the summer of 1940 by the president of the Republic of Estonia are disputable, juridically they are not void. As is known, the presumption that juridically disputable state affairs conducted by a head of a state are impeachable forms the basis of law and order and for that reason we cannot speak of any kind of continuity of the Republic of Estonia either, nor of the legality of its state institutions. At the same time it is very clear that when altering the Riigivolikogu's [lower house of the parliament] election law, the government of Johannes Vares exceeded the limits of its authority. According to Paragraph 2 of Article 99 in the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, even the republic's president could not, with a decree of his, establish or alter the law on electing the Riigivolikogu and shaping the Riiginoukogu [upper house of the parliament]. Thus the rules of procedure were grossly interfered with. Nomination letters from 57 candidates were declared null and a section resigned, under the influence of threats and blackmail. But one opposing candidate (Juri-Rajur Liivak) succeeded in standing.

The elections were carried out under direct pressure. Historians possess firm data that in some places those who did not turn up to vote on the 1st day of elections were threatened with monetary fines.

The activity of a Riigivolikogu elected thus evidently conflicted with the elections platform of the Estonian Union of Working People and with all the propaganda carried out prior to elections. A change in the status of the Estonian state could have taken place only through a nationwide referendum or on the basis of a resolution of a people's representation, set up via extraordinary elections, which would have been carried out specifically for this purpose.

And yet, ascertaining all these contradictions does not yet provide grounds for negating history; to declare the elections null and void, or to organize a campaign in order to collect signatures. To resolve this issue the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet will have to set up a joint commission of deputies and experts, in order to evaluate from society's point of view today, the then process of power changing hands in Estonia.

In real politics it is unproductive to claim that one or another state has emerged in a legal or illegal way. The majority of European and American states, the United States of America included, have de jure emerged through the use of political force. All this does not provide grounds, however, to claim that they do not exist. And the same applies to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

We can proceed at present only through implementing the **right of the Estonian people to self-determination**. The principle of the peoples' equality is an irrefutable component of international law, according to which all peoples have a right to determine their political status freely and without outside influence, and to develop their economic, social and cultural life. Each nation,

being the carrier of its own history and culture, is at the same time both a subject as well as an object of international law. Starting from the birth of each nation, the natural environment (territory) belongs to it, having been acquired for the nation with diverse material, economic and cultural means. Ambitions on the natural environment of whatever nation are clearly unlawful. With the new principles of federalism one must also recognize juridically the ethnic diversity which actually exists. To affirm the state sovereignty of the peoples of the Soviet Union, it is necessary to adopt first and foremost constitutions of union republics and only thereafter to look through the union contract.

What was the role of the Estonian Communist Party in the events of 1939-1940? [passage omitted]

Let us now set the **question of the Estonian Communist Party's responsibility in front of its own people**. [passage omitted]

As the 1940 revolutionary events were directed and planned elsewhere, and as thereafter an essentially new republican party organization was formed without its own independent policy or program, the present-day Communist Party of Estonia cannot be held solely responsible for the crimes of Stalinism in Estonia. [passage omitted]

We can also, but partially, speak about the responsibility of the Communist Party of Estonia for the postwar Stalinist crimes, abrupt collectivization and brutal mass deportation. Those plans, too were established elsehere. The then leaders of the Estonian Communist Party, led by N. Karotamm, attempted even to ease a little the terror of Stalinism and to alleviate the fate of those deported, albeit fruitlessly.

This was manifested specifically, for example, in presenting an alternative to the policy of forcible collectivization pushed by the center; in an attempt to avoid or at least ease the mass repressions in respect of the peasantry; in an endeavor to save Estonia's creative intelligentsia under the conditions of Zhdanovist ideological purges; to save and strengthen ethnic cadres; to defend the republic's economic interests; to preserve even the limited exterior characteristics of the republic's constitutional sovereignty, and so on. One claim without hesitation that these endeavors corresponded considerably more with Leninist principles and the interests of socialism and the Estonian people, than the political course implemented by the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) [AUCP(B)]. True, being forced to be subordinated to the AUCP(B) dictates, the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party did not succeed in fully implementing any of its weightier proposals and endeavors. Soon these deviations led to the removal of the nucleus which embodied the independent political thinking of the Estonian Communist Party leadership, at the 8th plenum of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) [B] of Estonia Central Committee (March 1950).

The eight plenum of the Communist Party (B) of Estonia signified an end for the time being to the independent political endeavors of the Communist Party of Estonia, and its unconditional subjugation to the ideology and political practice of Stalinism. Under the label of fighting antibourgeois nationalism, any kind of different thinking was repressed through mass purges, repressions and ideological treatment; in an accelerated way the Communist Party of Estonia and the whole of Estonia were levelled out to the model which had evolved all over the union. All this left severe aftereffects in the development of the Estonian economy and culture while weakening the link of the Communist Party of Estonia with the people and the power of influence of socialist ideas. [passage omitted]

But the changes in the republican leading cadres and in cadre policy as a whole were not the only far-reaching consequences of the 8th plenun of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee. The overall attitude toward Estonia changed, toward its needs and endeavors. From the 8th plenum up until nearly the fall of 1987, any references to Estonia being different and distinctive were interpreted as manifestations of nationalism. The political course was, and continued to be, uniform: To act and be like all the rest. The incompetence of leaders, their lack of personal civil courage and slight knowledge of Estonian circumstances did not even allow them to take full advantage of the opportunities offered during the Khrushchev's "thaw" period for a relative expansion in scope.

The levelling of Estonian distinctions reached its peak beginning with 1978 when Karl Vaino became the first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee. Then the Communist Party of Estonia ultimately became a toy for all-union departments; it was needed only to implement resolutions adopted far away and high up, and to "call to order" those who were dissatisfied. This role of a local governor was faithfully fulfilled by the leadership of the Communist Party of Estonia up to 1988, until the 11th Central Committee plenum. If, during previous decades, at least on some single issues an attempt had been made to retain a face of our own, and to refrain from following yet another all-union campaign, be it planting potatoes in square clusters or the corn boom, then during the period when Karl Vaino was in power, the desire was to be more and more outstanding in unrestrained enthusiasm. Inevitably this was accompanied by a complete negation of Estonia's vital interests. The forcing of labor-intensive production opened up such a wave of migration that both the Estonian people and the Estonian language were repelled. And a food program was put together of a kind which completely forced our agriculture to its knees. Food in Estonia became more and more scant.

Naturally this raises the question about **the Communist Party of Estonia's responsibility for where we are today**. Evidently not everything can be blamed on the system

and the center. The political regime was the same everywhere but the Communist Party of Lithuania, for example, wanted to and occasionally succeeded in, defending the interests of Lithuania, and that under the same circumstances, while the Communist Party of Estonia did not even attempt this, as a rule. And yet, that section of Estonians who were more active in public life found an opportunity to participate in political life—namely within the ranks of the Communist Party of Estonia. There simply was no other option which could be seriously considered. For that reason it is quite natural that in the struggle which has begun for the sovereignty of Estonia it is, namely, Estonian communists who are so active. This factor does not remove the question of being responsible for what preceded, but it demonstrates the extent of responsibility: What in fact depended on Estonian communists, and what did not. We recognize that a negative attitude toward the Communist Party is possible—because it is the central tool of the existing political power. At the same time it would not be possible to negatively and disparagingly evaluate a large section of the older generation, the more active and with-it section of the middle-aged and older people. I am convinced that the absolute majority of communists acted honestly, acted according to their convictions. One can condemn only those who participated immediately in the use of force upon people, whatever kind of force we are speaking of here. One can, and must, condemn those who for years implemented a policy which has led to the present low state of the republic. But the extent of everyone's responsibility has to be specific and individual.

The question is also of course wider; the question is about the **role of the Communist Party of Estonia, not only in the past but also in the present and future**, and about the role of the party altogether. Union wide, the claim—the party started restructuring—has become the current truth. Against this background, can one then claim that the Communist Party of Estonia started perestroyka in Estonia? Not really. If one means under the Communist Party of Estonia also its then leadership, then perestroyka in Estonia started not thanks to the party but in spite of the party, or to be more precise, despite the attitudes of its then leaders. But those processes became possible only thanks to the fact that Gorbachev's team had started perestroyka. Only thanks to this fact did it became impossible already in the second half of 1987 "to call to order" honest intellectuals, speakers at the joint plenum of creative unions [on 1 and 2 April 1988], those whose initiative it was to set up the People's Front, and if you wish, also the activists of MRP-AEG [group whose aim it was to make the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact public knowledge and who organized a rally on 23 August 1987] and ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party]. Perhaps unnoticeably, but by 1987-1988 the proces of democratizing public life had already progressed so far. So who was it who started perestroyka in Estonia? I believe I am right when I say it was the Estonian intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Under these conditions the Communist Party of Estonia will in the near future produce its action program and invites not only communists but all the people of Estonia to engage in extensive discussions about its theses.

At the moment the responsibility for the situation which has evolved in Estonia rests with the Communist Party of Estonia. We must clarify the whole historic truth and make amends for the crimes. Regardless of whatever the role of the Communist Party of Estonia will turn out to be in the future Estonia, it is a task of honor for communists to lead Estonia out of the historical dead end, in cooperation with all progressive forces.

The Communist Party of Estonia program must be a program to lead Estonian society out of the crisis and to create preconditions for the new, man-centered socialism. The Communist Party of Estonia is of the opinion that there is no direct path at the moment to reach the final goal. One will have to proceed through an extremely complex and contradictory transition stage.

The final aims of the Communist Party of Estonia's activity are to restore Estonia's sovereignty, on the basis of the Estonian people's right to self-determination, while not reducing the personal and social security of each person living in Estonia; and to restore the Communist Party of Estonia to an independent and deeply democratic political organization, with its release from the role of the commander and banner. And naturally, to implement IME [self-managing Estonia]. [passage omitted]

One must ask today if, and to what extent, the Communist Party of Estonia has the moral and political right to act in the name of the people, as the central political force. The Communist Party of Estonia bears full responsibility for the past. But deviations and crimes under which party members suffered no less than other members of society cannot serve as a foundation for absolutely negating ideology as such and the parties representing it. We know from history that under the slogans of Christianity, as well as of other ideologies, force has been used on innumerable occasions, but nobody at present doubts the fundamental value of those ideologies. Apart from that, one can send the whole bill to be footed by the party leadership who carried out their center-abiding policy, largely proceeding from personal ambitions. Yet, in participating in the Communist Party of Estonia—it being the organization which possessed absolute power—many honest people saw their only opportunity to shape the lives of the people in any way at all.

Some Estonians opted for direct opposition to Stalinism and paid for this with their lives, or their homeland. But looking the truth in the eye, the results of their choice, from the point of view of the future of the Estonian nation, were incomparably smaller than the daily activity and real struggle of Estonian communists against great-power bureacracy, an incorrect nationality policy, ignorance and other social deviations.

The present activity of the Communist Party of Estonia is not connected with an endeavor to strengthen its supremacy, but quite the opposite—and this is what we declare in our draft action program—to relinquish the monopoly of power. Power needs to be given to the people and to the organs of power elected by them. This presupposes a stable society founded upon diversity of ownership, and upon a diversity of interests of different subjects. This, as yet, we do not have. for this reason, preserving the wholeness of the party acts as a guarantee for stability and continuity in the development of Estonian society.

The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee is at the moment under attack from both sides: Both the ERSP as well as Inter-Movement and TKUN [United Council of Work Collectives] strive for a restriction in the sphere of action of the Communist Party of Estonia. This way not only is it desire that the socially active section of whole generations is pushed out of the society's political life but in essence the path will be closed to constructive politics, inasmuch as the CPSU's leading role in society also determines the place and possibilities for Estonian communists. The ERSP attempts openly to present itself as the instigator of the Estonian restructuring processes. True, their noisy ideological campaigns assisted in shaking the Estonians out of their political hibernation. But what have they achieved with their activity, in order to lead Estonia closer to sovereignty and statehood? Did not the real changes in Moscow create the preconditions for such ideological campaigns to be implemented? Who, after all, was the actual one to carry out such undertakings as the adoption of the law on language, the 16 November [1988] constitution amendments, the adoption of the IME program, the annulment of MRP [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact] and so on, and so on? A number of our deputies both in Moscow and also in Tallinn have managed, imperceptibly to do a lot more for the purpose of ensuring that the Estonian people are sovereign and that they continue—thanks to their patient, occasionally extremely draining activity—than those who doggedly declare the need to restorate Estonia's own statehood, unconditionally and "in a juridically pure form." It is no hardship to reproach other people for not being very idealistic, while attempting to score points among the people without bearing any real responsibility. It is a fact that all real steps have been the fruit of joint efforts on the part of Estonian progressive and democratic forces. In this cooperation they have been avoiding one factor: Exacerbation of social tensions and conflicts, and yet they have never denied the pluralism of views and interests and the right to one's views. All in all, only politics of this kind can lead Estonia to its destination.

21 Jul Tallinn Rally Protests Local Laws

PM1508075589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Jul 89 p 1

[V. Ivanov report: "'We Are Concerned About Our Rights'"]

[Excerpts] "We are concerned about our rights"—this is, in a nutshell, how I could describe the substance of the speeches at yesterday's rally next to Tallinn City Hall. Incidentally, the rally's sponsors defined the subject like this: In defense of USSR citizens' rights.

Opening the rally, I. Borodin, secretary of the party committee of the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association, told the gathering that representatives had arrived to participate in it from Moscow, Minsk, Kishinev, Leningrad, Narva, Sillamyae, Kokhtla-Yarve, Tartu... [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, we are not able to give a detailed account of all the speakers' speeches. However, the main complaints and demands are contained in the documents adopted at the rally: the Appeal to People's Deputies and Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Appeal to Labor Collectives and to All Working People, and the rally resolution. Let us cite some of the main points in these documents.

"...Be that as it may, the people must be told honestly where we are going or where we are once again being led. We are tired of lies over many years and of the government's insolvency. From the rostrum of the Congress of People's Deputies we have repeatedly heard of the need to build a rule-of-law state. But for people to come to believe in the true desire of the leadership and the USSR Supreme Soviet to realize this slogan, it is necessary right now to set an example of rigid control from above over the observance of existing legality and to show people the ability to defend their civil rights at least on the territory of their own state. (...) We ask through the central press to be given an explanation in the name of the Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO on the following questions:

"1. What guarantees do we have of the protection of our constitutional rights?

"2. By which laws should we live today if the law of the republic is at variance with the law of the USSR and infringes on our rights?

"3. What measures will be taken against members of the government and leaders of the republic's party and soviet organs who propagandize and participate in the adoption of anticonstitutional decisions? (...)"

"...There are hundreds of thousands of us Russian-speaking people who were born here or moved to Estonia to take up permanent residence at various times, starting in the forties. We restored the republic's war-ravaged economy and invested all our strength, knowledge, and experience in its socialist development. Our children and our children's children were born here, they graduated from school here and also joined the ranks of Soviet Estonia's working people—this land alone is their motherland, and this is precisely how we all regard it. (...)"

"...Our children find themselves in a complex position, for the opportunities for them to obtain higher education in their native tongue and to choose work in accordance with their specialty are artificially restricted in Estonia. (...)

"...We know WHO will end up in the free manpower market and for WHOM immigration control and the corresponding draft law are intended. (...)

"...We representatives of labor collectives are resolutely opposed to a policy that helps to strengthen separatist positions, to increase anti-Soviet feeling, and to fuel interethnic tension, which poses a threat of the emergence of a crisis situation in the republic. (...)

"WE DEMAND:

"1. Follow the example of the Riga Party City Committee Bureau and disband the so-called 'Estonian citizens' committees' and institute proceedings against the ideological inspirers and organizers of these anticonstitutional formations.

"2. Make a principled and rightful assessment of the demands of the People's Front Plenipotentiaries Council to annul the declaration of 22 July 1940—which, as we see it, signifies a call for Estonia's secession from the USSR.

"3. Suspend the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Law on Language until questions of finance, of training teacher cadres, of preparing teaching aids, and of setting up a ramified network of state centers and courses for language study have been resolved and realized at government level.

"4. Cease examination of the draft Estonian SSR Law on Local Soviet Elections and cardinally rework it. Bring it into line with the USSR Constitution (Basic Law). In the future, prevent the adoption of inadequately elaborated and hastily discussed legislative acts with an undemocratic thrust. (...)

"5. On the threshold of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations we appeal to Central Committee members and the CPSU leadership to adopt specific decisions to ensure peace and stability in our common home and to give every USSR citizen confidence in the future. (...)

"In the event of our demands being ignored yet again, we are left with no possibility of defending our rights other than to call for a political strike and launch a campaign to create alternative power structures operating within the framework of the USSR Constitution."

Date of Latvian Local Soviet Elections Set

18001518 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 1

["Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Holding Elections of Peoples Deputies of Local Soviets of The Latvian SSR"]

[Text] In connection with the expiration of the term of office for peoples deputies of local soviets of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] based on Article 97 of the Latvian SSR Constitution and Article 14 of the Latvian SSR law "On the Election of Peoples Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR," the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR decrees:

To hold elections for peoples deputies of rayons, cities, and rayons of the city of Riga, settlements, and rural soviets of the Latvian SSR on Sunday, 10 December 1989.

The decree takes effect 1 September 1989.

[Signed] A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR
I. Daugish, secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lativan SSR
Riga, 29 July 1989.

Moldavian Minister Manukyan on Production Reform

AU1608170489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Aug 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Sergey Manukyan, "minister of light industry of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic," by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Ventseslav Tsolov in Moscow: "Minister Without...a Ministry"—date not given]

[Excerpt] When I was introduced to him 3 months ago, they described him to me as one of the best managers in the USSR. I was glad when a few days ago I saw him again in Moscow, because I had a lot of things to ask him. For Sergey Manukyan is not simply the minister of light industry of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. He was the first minister to propose and personally announce that his ministry was abolishing itself. At first sight this is an inexplicable, extraordinary event, a materialization of the fairy tale in which the hero cuts off the branch on which he is sitting....

Initially many people probably thought that by so doing Manukyan was signing a certificate proving his own powerlessness, because the quality of the goods produced in the branch, so to speak, left a lot to be desired. A sociological research study among the Moldavian consumers showed that they were dissatisfied with every fourth knitwear garment and every third pair of shoes produced in the union republic.

The minister is an experienced practical man, a former director of a large textile enterprise in Kishinev, but at the time the flow of poor-quality products was so great that even far more "hard-baked" leaders were taken aback by it, and they had good reason to be. According to the financial legislation of the USSR, 70 percent of the profit of all enterprises, including light industry, is handed over to the state budget. Yet in Moldavia the enterprises were simply crying out for modernization. In practice, the experiments on applying economic accountability were far too many to cope with. The eternal excuse "there are no funds" became the most serious obstacle to providing real incentives for the workers and increasing their interest. Labor productivity fell steadily, while the volume of rejected products increased. In certain enterprises the basic production funds were barely operating at 35 percent of their capacity....

"Where is the exit from this labyrinth, which seems so hopeless at first sight?" said Manukyan. "In two words, it lies in increasing the interest of the direct producer and in achieving savings in raw and other materials, energy, and the optimum loading of production capacities."

He considered that he could achieve all this at a single stroke, by renting out the enterprises to the workers.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia supported the idea. From the start to this year to date, nine enterprises in the light industry sector have signed leasehold agreements with the state, and this number will continue to grow. The collectives gathered the money for the rent through shares distributed by the commercial bank among the leaseholders. According to Manukyan's plans, the shares and the commercial bank will become the financial mainstay of a new formation—a scientific-production commercial concern for light industry, which will "replace" the ministry. It sounds tempting, but is not this simply a matter of changing the labels? I asked. The arguments that my interlocutor put forward to prove the converse were more than convincing. It is true that the concern, like the present ministry, will have the same goals, namely more clothing and footwear for the population, but the new organization will pursue these goals in a different way. All the enterprises that are grouped together under the concern's "hat" will operate under economic accountability conditions. They include production associations, trading enterprises, fashion and marketing centers, cooperatives, and a scientific-research institute for new goods. All this will form a flexible system that is subordinate to a single idea, namely more goods, better quality, and lower prices. Of course, there will naturally have to be a "shaking of the branches" to remove superfluous petty bureaucrats, as well as a parting of the ways with certain workers and leaders who do not possess the required qualities. [passage omitted]

Lessons of Novyy Uzen Events Outlined

PM0208150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with A. Kulibayev, first secretary of Guryev Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee, by correspondent D. Gutenev: "The Main Lesson: After the Events in Novyy Uzen"—date not given]

[Text] Guryev City—The road from Shevchenko to Novyy Uzen passes through a deep depression. The vehicles cross the twisted surface down to the 132 meter mark then climb upwards. There are many depression of this kind in Mangyshlak. They include the Uzen depression, which gave its name to an oil field and then a city. However, the dips and turns in which the peninsula's landscape abounds are not just geographical but social, too. And they have taken their toll during this hot summer. Our correspondent talks with A. Kulibayev, first secretary of Guryev Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee [obkom], about the reasons for the worsening of the situation and the measures which are helping to remove the tension.

Gutenev: Askar Altynbekovich, it is less than 1 year since Mangyshlak Oblast became part of Guryev Oblast and the party obkom, including you as first secretary, would have found it quite difficult to anticipate the events that are disturbing Soviets now. Nevertheless, as it has now become clear, the conflict in Novyy Uzen was ripe a long time ago. People knew about the strained relations between the Kazakh and Caucasian sections of the population, and representatives of the city authorities were warned about the action that was being prepared. Nevertheless, preventive measures were not taken. Furthermore, the party and soviet aktiv did not take seriously the warning issued 5 days before the disorders began.

Kulibayev: That is right. It is true that the pogroms and bloodshed could have been averted. That is clear. However, the causes are far deeper and more complex than the ones now being mentioned. Any trifle could have been the pretext. People's patience was simply exhausted. Unfortunately, in Novyy Uzen the protest immediately assumed ugly forms. Events there immediately developed the same way as in Fergana. First violence and intimidation, then the issuing of patently impossible demands, and sabotage. Fortunately, thanks to timely measures by the republic's government—the rapid introduction of internal troops and the curfew—we prevented fratricidal carnage.

Novyy Uzen is a young city. It isn't 30 years old yet. It appeared thanks to the exploitation of the oil and gas deposits. Highly skilled specialists were needed for the earliest possible assimilation of the resources. And they came from all parts of the country: from Russia, Belorussia, Turkmenistan, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and

neighboring Emba. Many of them bound their future to this land forever and settled down with their families here. Representatives of all the peoples were living in peace and harmony.

But gradually the erroneous policy of a powerful department began to make itself felt. One-half of Kazakhstan's oil is extracted from local wells now. The city's economy is geared solely to the extraction of that raw material. In comparison with other cities and settlements in the oblast now, Novyy Uzen was at one point left without a future and stopped developing. The volumes of housing construction were almost halved.

The extraction of oil and gas and gas processing have stabilized but no one wanted to begin other kinds of production.

The enterprises of the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry adopted a mechanical approach to the implementation of the economic reform. The introduction of economic accountability was accompanied solely by a reduction in the number of workers. No one thought about retraining them or finding them work.

Gutenev: From many conversations with inhabitants of different nationalities one gets the impression that both the "city fathers" and their oblast counterparts (at that time Mangyshlak) either by incompetent or tactless actions in specific situations allowed the kind of thing that aroused people's dissatisfaction and that ultimately caused them to take to the streets. For example, they evicted a Kazakh woman from an apartment who had moved in there unlawfully and gave the permit to a Lezghin family instead. Alerted by bakery worker Z. Kulynshanova, people's controllers discovered major violations in the work of bakery director K. Kuzhkenbayev and stores chief M. Kolokhoyev. But both men escaped justice. Attempts were made to send bus driver A. Sariyev straight from his vehicle to an occupational therapy rehabilitation center. They didn't succeed. However, he has not managed to get his job back for 3 years now.

Kulibayev: During these heated days, oblast leaders and representatives of the republic managed to interview hundreds of people on personal matters. What emerges from this? In those places where they should have listened to people attentively, they only spent a few minutes to resolve matters and fudged the issue. In people's minds the party and soviet apparatus has become bureaucratized. We are skillful in our agitation among the aktiv and in work with it, but there was no daily contact with people. That is why when passions were becoming heated the crowd did not want to listen to the president of the republic or the secretary of the Central Committee or any of the senior executives from Alma Ata or Guryev invested with power. The crowd was fed up with words!

Gutenev: How do you assess the actions of party, soviet, trade union, and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League leaders during the events? I know that you and F. Kovinkov, chairman of the oblast executive committee [oblispolkom], went to Novyy Uzen immediately when you heard about the disorders. And you were on the streets all the time, holding conversations to provide explanations and exhortations.

Kulibayev: I shall say straight away that many people were confused. Nevertheless, great strength was demonstrated. And the person who knows how to deliver fiery speeches, I repeat, was speechless when faced with a critical situation. It was not until the 4th day that the aktiv went to the enterprises to meet people. That was when the curfew was in force. Even then people did not always find the words or the courage to give direct answers to direct questions. Extreme measures had to be taken—to replace the party city committee [gorkom] first secretary and the city executive committee [gorispolkom] chairman.

Gutenev: You mentioned the skillful actions of the law and order forces.

Kulibayev: We and the leaders and population of Novyy Uzen and other settlements and cities where the demonstrations and rallies were held, which often ended in disorders, are grateful to the militia and the military subunits of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Gutenev: As PRAVDA has already reported, by decision of the oblispolkom, four commissions have been created which have studied the questions of the use of manpower and the state of work of trade enterprises, public catering, everyday life, cooperatives, the observance of the passport system and the distribution of apartments, as well as the placement of cadres. What conclusions have been drawn and what measures have been taken on the results of these commissions' work?

Kulibayev: Some of the slogans had substance. A check of the passport system covered more than one-half of the city's population. It discovered 434 violators, 123 vacant and 51 reserved apartments, and 23 families living in apartments without authorization—despite a waiting list of 5,000. The city has 1,000 families living in dilapidated buildings but the relevant enterprises and construction organizations have not taken significant measures to repair them. Violations were discovered in the distribution of housing, vehicles, and other scarce commodities.

I should like to make special mention of the placement of leading cadres. The population growth in the past decade is mainly due to the Kazakhs and and the peoples of the Caucasus. The ethnic origin of leaders, according to an analysis, corresponds to the population structure. Thus the rumors that people from the Caucasus have seized the key posts are unfounded. They make up just 9 percent of the nomenklatura and 17 percent of the total [population].

Gutenev: Askar Altynbekovich, throughout this period a government commission created by decision of the republic's government and headed by O. Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, has been working in the oblast. It included people endowed with real power, so that the distortions allowed in the city's socioeconomic development may be quickly eliminated. But its remit also included the preparation of a government decision whose fulfillment would help to avoid such situations in the future.

Kulibayev: That decision already exists in draft form. In essence it seeks to balance the city's development by creating additional units for the production of consumer goods and by improving the social infrastructure. The republic's Ministry of Light Industry has pledged to build in the next 2 years not only a sewn goods factory in Novyy Uzen but also subsidiaries in the settlements of Staryy Uzen and Zhetybay and factories in the cities of Shevchenko and Fort-Shevchenko. Around 3,000 people will be employed there. To ease the housing problem the "Mangyshlakneftegazstroy" Trust has been instructed to create enterprises for the construction of large-panel and cast-on-site apartment blocks and the production of claydite. Housing construction will thus double in Novyy Uzen and the barrack huts in Zhetybay and Munayshi will be torn down. Loans and quotas for individual housing construction materials will be increased. The material base of trade, public catering, consumer services, and municipal services will be substantially strengthened.

Radical measures are to be implemented to improve the heat and water supply. For instance, the supply of drinking water to Zhetybay and Novyy Uzen via the Astrakhan-Mangyshlak pipeline will be increased as will that to Yeraliyevo from Shevchenko. Beginning next year the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Construction will organize a construction and assembly trust in the region.

As PRAVDA has already reported, the situation in the city is now calm and the curfew has been lifted. Nevertheless, conclusions must be drawn.

The main lesson of Novyy Uzen is that the party and state organs must face people's needs in Guryev Oblast, particularly in the old oil field settlements and in the countryside. Detachment from the broad masses, the disregard of their interests, and bureaucratization are fraught, as we have seen, with grave consequences both in the economic and in the political and social spheres. They can lead to confrontation among the peoples. And interethnic discord in our country is madness.

Grain Transportation Problems in Ukraine Detailed

LD1708160889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] They say that the heart is warm when the grain is in the silos. However, as a TASS correspondent reports from Odessa, the mood is far from joyful among workers of the port elevator where all capacities are clogged up with supplies. Farms of South Ukraine are partially directing their harvest here for transhipment, but in the main it is foreign firms from whom grain has been purchased for currency, and both fatherland and transoceanic senders are forced to stand idle here for long periods of time, awaiting unloading, because of the catastrophic shortage of railway cars. The situation became particularly agravated in August. Instead of the ordered 120 cars every 24 hours, the administration of the Odessa railway is sending one-third or one-fourth that number to elevators. But for failing to meet the strict schedules, Western businessmen are seeking 10,000 dollars per 24 hours from our state. The Black Sea shipping line is also required to pay a forfeit for the idling of ships. In the meantime, this grain is awaited in many regions of the country. In July alone, dozens of tonnes were not received by consumers in Central Asia, Moscow, Belorod, Tambov, and other oblasts in the Russian Federation.

Inspection of South Ukrainian AES Reported

18220187 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with chief expert of the Main State Ecological Commission S. Burtsev by journalist Yu. Aleksandrov: "Goskompriroda Makes the First Move and..."; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Goskompriroda [the State Committee for the Protection of Nature] has carried out its first inspection of a nuclear power facility. This took place at the South Ukraine Power Complex. Journalist Yu. Aleksandrov has talked to the chief expert of the Main State Ecological Commission, S. Burtsev.

[Aleksandrov] Please tell us what the power complex amounts to.

[Burtsev] At present two AES [nuclear power station] units with a capacity of 1 million kilowatts each are in operation here. They are cooled by the water of the Tashlykskoye Reservoir, isolated from the Yuzhnyy Bug River. The construction of the second stage of the nuclear power station is in full swing. It consists of two more units and two reservoirs, the Aleksandrovskoye and the Konstantinovskoye. In addition, the technical and economic draft of the third stage has already been prepared. This means two more units.

The draft also provides for the construction of peak storage plants that will be fed with the power of the AES during the night "trough." They pump water to the upper reservoir. At peak load hours this water will be discharged through the GES [hydropower station] system, and will generate additional electricity. This combination of the AES, peak storage plants, and GES is economically advantageous.

[Aleksandrov] There have been reports in the press on public protests in Nikolayevsk Oblast against the expansion of the nuclear power station. What are the specific demands of the populace?

[Burtsev] Not to build the new reservoirs, and to restrict the capacity of the AES to three units.

[Aleksandrov] What did the experts decide?

[Burtsev] To ban construction of the Konstantinovskoye Reservoir. In doing so, we proceeded primarily from the fact that it would change the entire ecosystem of a unique region—in essence, the only area in the Ukraine where many species of birds, animals, fish, and plants entered in the "Red Book" still survive. A unique landscape would also be lost—a system of rapids on the river where thousands of people come for recreation and water tourism. The reservoir would flood dozens of most valuable archaeological sites.

As far as the Aleksandrovskoye Reservoir is concerned, we found no weighty arguments against it. It should be taken into account that this is not a new reservoir; it existed even before the war. At present, it is envisaged to restore it, to be sure, with a higher water level.

[Aleksandrov] However it is situated on the river; that is to say, the water from the AES will contaminate the Yuzhnyy Bug.

[Burtsev] This was the case in the Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] design. We did not agree with this, and are demanding that the design be reworked.

[Aleksandrov] The conclusions of the commission may be called "centrist"; the conclusions are somewhere between the demands of the populace and the design by power specialists.

[Burtsev] Representatives of the social ecological association of Nikolayevsk Oblast served on the commission. This enabled us to take into account many desires of the populace. Incidentally, some members of the commission registered their separate opinions whereby they demand that the Aleksandrovskoye Reservoir and the fourth unit of the AES be given up.

[Aleksandrov] How did the power specialists respond to the conclusions of experts?

[Burtsev] Negatively. They refute them almost completely, arguing that it is necessary to erect six AES units and build the Konstantinovskoye Reservoir. This is stated in a memorandum of the leaders of Minenergo and Minatomenergo [the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and Industry] to the chairman of Goskompriroda.

Such a reaction is understandable. After all, the design was created in the years when technocratic thinking prevailed. The momentum of such thinking is very powerful. For example, the designers absolutely could not understand: Why is there so much talk about some rapids and rocks? They promise: We will make cement rapids for you that are much better. They simply have no idea of the value of natural landscapes and the attraction for people which they hold.

[Aleksandrov] However, can the loss due to the disappearance of these same natural landscapes or architectural landmarks be evaluated?

[Burtsev] Certainly this is no simple matter. However, we should look for the criteria and compare the advantages from generating electricity to the damage inflicted on nature. At present there are no such methods. Taking advantage of this, the power specialists state: We have already invested hundreds of millions, therefore Goskompriroda, which is banning the project, should compensate us. Thus far, for our part we cannot quote a statistic of losses due to carrying out the project in order to counter this.

Thus far, the work on developing such methods has proceeded with difficulty. The committee lacks both the resources and funds to do this. This is why the simplified calculations of designers are frequently accepted, and hasty decisions are made that do not take into account the comprehensive impact of economic facilities on nature.

In essence, at present the ministries do as they please. For example, in 1985 the design of the second stage of the South Ukraine AES passed the expert review of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. Its technical part was approved, but a good number of reservations were stated with regard to environmental protection. However, they have not been taken into account and construction has continued based on the old design. The monitoring of compliance with the conclusions of an inspection is necessary in order to prevent such "initiative."

[Aleksandrov] The commission of experts also examined the work of operating nuclear capacities. I will put it bluntly: The conclusions of the commission are striking. Numerous cases of violation of the operating regime at the first and second units were revealed, as well as shortcomings in the control of leaks and discharges. It is stated that the operating AES units do not comply with modern radiation safety requirements. Unauthorized leaks and discharges of pollutants into the environment were revealed...

[Burtsev] Our experts were also shocked. The very presence of these leaks shows that the AES is operated with violations, despite the maximum admissible concentrations not being exceeded for all of them.

[Aleksandrov] What are the Gosatomenergonadzor [State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry], the Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology], and other control organs, including Goskompriroda, doing about it?

[Burtsev] You see, the Gosatomenergonadzor does not handle environmental protection. According to the new statute, the Goskomgidromet only monitors the radiation situation, but has no control responsibilities. This is the right the Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] has; it apparently believes that the doses of unplanned discharges are small, and there are no grounds to sound the alarm. Radiation monitoring is not the function of our committee either. So it happens that everyone is responsible for his part, but in essence, no one is responsible for the situation as a whole.

[Aleksandrov] What is the fate of the South Ukraine Power Complex going to be in the future?

[Burtsev] It is hard to say. After all, the conclusions of the expert commission are at variance with the design adopted by a resolution of the Council of Ministers. Besides, the Minenergo and the Minatomenergoprom do not agree with our conclusions. Ultimately the decision is to be made by the USSR Council of Ministers taking into account the opinion of republic and oblast organizations.

Armenian City Soviet Elects Chairman

NC1708104989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Organizational matters were discussed at an extraordinary session of the Kirovakan city soviet of people's deputies. By secret ballot and majority vote, the session elected Vandos Amayakovich Karageozyan, director of the local leather factory, as chairman of the Kirovakan city soviet executive committee. There had been three candidates for the post.

The session had previously relieved Levon Yegishe Khachaturyan of his duties as chairman of the Kirovakan city soviet executive committee at his request.

NKAO Representatives Meet To Set Up Council

NC1708115589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] A congress of plenipotentiary representatives of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] opened its deliberations today in Stepanakert. The congress seeks to set up an administrative council for the autonomous oblast which will last until constitutional forms of government are reinstated. Among the delegates to the congress are almost all leading party, soviet, trade union and communist youth league workers; directors of the organizations and enterprises; party, war, and labor veterans; and representatives of the working class, cooperative farmers, and intellectuals. Major General Kupreyev, member of the NKAO special administration committee; Major General Safonov, commandant of the special district; and Nefedov, assistant chairman of the NKAO special administration committee, are participating in the congress' deliberations.

Tovmasyan, a member of the NKAO special administration committee, delivered an address, which was followed by an extensive exchange of views. It was pointed out in the address and discussion that an appeal should be made to the workers of the oblast for them to return to work immediately.

The congress continued its deliberations this evening.

Economic

Materials Shortages Hamper Defense Conversion

18230071 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by engineer A. Yegorov: "Both Time and Money"]

[Excerpts] Defense industry workers who have been charged with creating equipment for the food industry have been faced with an unexpected problem. It turns out that only those materials whose use has been permitted by the USSR Ministry of Health are suitable for such equipment. The designers consulted the document of guidance given to the "late" Ministry of Machine Buillding for the Light and Food Industry and became discouraged. The defense industries had little or no contact with the materials that were among those permitted. To get permission, according to the workers of the sanitary-epidemiological station, was a long and costly procedure: two years and almost R10,000 for each type of material. And there was no guarantee that it would be allowed in production.

What is to be done? Can the "permitted" materials be assimilated? Money, time, and additional capacity are also needed.... Will they be sufficient, for example, to get things going for the manufacture of a wide assortment of new fasteners? Of course not. In a word, all of the work for the output of equipment for the food industry is threatened with disruption.

But there is a way out. Gosstandart should issue an immediate directive listing technical specifications of materials that can be used in contact with food products. [passage omitted]

The existing system, in which the Ministry of Health gives permission for the use of materials in manufacturing specific components—choppers, covers, knives, handles, and so forth—is basically faulty. [passage omitted] The Ministry of Health does not have enough personnel or material resources to carry out the work of mastering equipment problems within the planned time, particularly since these time periods are extremely tight.

Aganbegyan Advocates Armenian Enterprise Zone
PM1608151889 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 33, 13 Aug 89 p 12

[Interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan by Vladimir Loyevetskiy: "Zones of Rebirth"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] This is the hope for free enterprise zones in the earthquake-stricken districts of Armenia and elsewhere in the republic as a whole. Academician Abel Aganbegyan presents his view on the subject.

Q.: Abel Gezevich, you have headed the commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences to promote the survival of the earthquake-stricken areas of Armenia, and have returned recently from an expedition around the republic. What are the results?

A.: Greater confidence that the problem is not merely to restore the ruins, but the need to look in a new way at the entire development of the republic. It is necessary to reassess the costs of reconstruction and the time framework.

Q.: Why the need to reassess?

A.: According to preliminary estimates the damage was 8 billion roubles. When it was specified in more detail, it came to 13 billion. But in reality much more will be needed. An old factory or a house which didn't have water or sewage has been destroyed. Well, shall we restore them the way they were? Everything will be much costlier.

Q.: But is it necessary to restore everything?

A.: This is one of the serious issues we are working on in our commission. A "mechanical" approach is simply harmful. Thus, restoration work has started on the destroyed chemical works in Kirovakan and several millions have already been invested. Luckily they stopped: Why rebuild a dirty and unsafe enterprise on a geological fracture? One of the key tasks today is to reorient the development of the republic towards clean, nonwasteful production. The Armenian nuclear power plant and the Alaverdi mining and metallurgical integrated plant have already been closed. The republican Supreme Soviet has also decided to close the "Nayivit" association, since it uses chlorine and is situated in the centre of Yerevan. What could be more dangerous than this?

Q.: How many people will now have to be provided with jobs?

A.: Even before, there was unemployment in the republic. The earthquake has aggravated the situation. Don't forget the 200,000 refugees. Therefore, the creation of new jobs will also call for major expenses... On the whole, all these problems must be coordinated into a balanced programme built on the principles of republican self-financing and active participation in the international division of labour. The hope is to set up a free enterprise zone in the republic. Perhaps the whole republic could become such a zone...

Q.: You think there are enough prerequisites for this?

A.: The aid given by the centre and all the union republics is very substantial—8 billion roubles for building and assembly work; 2 billion in direct payments. But where shall we get the rest? We know what state the federal budget is in. In such conditions why not take advantage of the opportunity of drawing on foreign capital? After all, 3 million Armenians live abroad.

Q.: How willing are they to invest their capital?

A.: We received donations not only from Armenians abroad but also from many countries as well. But in order to attract capital on a commercial basis, to help partners to see the prospects and benefits, a special mechanism is needed... But in principle the Diaspora is ready to invest money. If before perestroika some Armenians abroad called for the secession of the republic from the USSR, now few people think in these terms.

Q.: So we're talking about only Armenian businessmen's capital? In what amount?

A.: Not only Armenian contacts have been established with foreign firms which helped in connection with the earthquake. As for the likely amount of investments, the first stage of creating the zone would probably require one billion dollars.

Q.: What will this stage involve?

A.: It faces a host of problems: from the reconsideration of many administrative regulations to the creation of hundreds of joint ventures. Let's take, for example, the bureaucratic procedures in the registration of visas: Let competent bodies of the republic solve this problem. Or, take communications: the Zvartnots Airport must be granted international status. And the Black Sea city of Poti could be granted the status of a special port, the sea access for the zone. There is some experience: The "italian" village for 1,500 inhabitants built near the ruins of Spitak is made of modules delivered from Italy through the port of Poti.

Q.: What might the specialization of the zone be?

A.: First of all, let's make clear what it mustn't be: There is no need to build industrial giants there. It is necessary to build small-and medium-size enterprises with different forms of ownership. These could include high tech plants partly oriented to exports (the qualifications of local personnel is high) and the production of consumer goods. And tourism? At present, tens of thousands of tourists come to Armenia every year. For a comparison's

sake: Macao, which covers an area of 17 square kilometres, plays host to one million tourists. It is necessary not only to build hotels and roads, but also to reconstruct the administrative structures: Give up the Intourist monopoly and provide local tourist firms with rights. Nontraditional solutions are possible. I am sure that some Armenians abroad would be happy not only to take a two-week tour, but to live here for several months a year, bringing their children to see their motherland not just from a bus window. Why can't they be provided with an opportunity to lease plots of land, build cottages and plant orchards? Let the Supreme Soviet of the republic settle this, but it is also necessary that it should have such a right...The changes will also affect the sphere of education: more active study of foreign languages, new involvement in the study of international economic relations, schools of business...A new decentralized system of banking service will be needed.

Q.: What about currency? Will the zone have its own currency?

A.: This would not be inexpedient. Of course, the rouble is weak, but it will become stronger only with the development of a normal market and not as a result of the creation of many "local currencies.

Q.: The free enterprise zone will need tax concessions. Who'll pass the decision on the zone and the tax concession?

A.: The turning of Armenia into such a zone is not an act to be carried out all at once, but [is] a process. And already today the first steps can be taken. The positive stand of the federal government regarding such zones is known. The idea of creating one in Armenia originated in the republic, and it must show the initiative...As for taxation privileges, of course, they are needed, especially in the earthquake-stricken districts. I don't see any obstacles here: Decisions had already been taken on favorable foreign economic relations for the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union.

Q.: When the issue on the transfer of the Baltic republics to a self-financing system was being solved at the USSR Supreme Soviet, some deputies asked why they should get special privileges? Won't there be similar questions in this case?

A.: Privileges? First of all I think that if any republic or region finds possibilities for attracting foreign capital, it should make use of them. Second, God forbid that any other republic lose a third of her national wealth in a few minutes, not to mention the people. This must not be forgotten, and also the fact that Armenia is now involuntarily dependent on other republics and the centre. And with the zone it will be able to earn a part of the means for restoration and development, reducing the burden for others. Finally, the goods and technologies which will appear in the republic will gradually be drawn into the federal system. In fact, it is already specializing in the production of shoes and knitted goods for the country. But it is even not the economy that matters. There is no family in Armenia not affected by the earthquake. This disaster, just like the situation in connection with Nagorno-Karabakh, has created a terrible socio-psychological climate in the republic. The people are extremely depressed by the situation; a lack of faith in the future is embracing too many people. This must be dealt with somehow.

Q.: ...The light in the window is a new, original idea...

A.: Yes, exactly. Not standard promises and appeals, but an idea that would inspire enthusiasm, and at the same time would not be too fantastic. The creation of the zone may become such an idea.

Q.: But still, won't it create the illusion of an easy solution to the problems?

A.: Illusions are always dangerous. In fact, foreign capital can only become an additional source. Besides, to announce such a zone does not mean yet that the capital will flow downhill on its own. A lot of hard work is needed for this to happen and to produce results.

Azerbaijan Developing Financial Autonomy Program
LD1608124389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0521 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Baku, 16 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Elmira Askerova reports:

The extension of economic independence and a transition to financial autonomy are now being actively discussed in Soviet Azerbaijan, the government of which is developing a concept of financial autonomy in this Transcaucasian republic. Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of Azerbaijan's Council of Ministers, told a TASS correspondent that republican draft laws on tax formation and the state budget have already been prepared. At the same time, many issues still require additional and thorough work.

One of the serious problems that must be solved while moving toward the improvement of interrepublican economic ties is the redistribution of income from the marketing of finished products.

Azerbaijan, in whose economy the extraction or primary processing of valuable raw materials such as oil, cotton, and industrial grape varieties predominate, has so far not only been unable to take charge of the majority of these products, but also has been deprived of the income resulting from the turnover of the final product manufactured from them. All the income goes to the budgets of the producing localities.

The chairman of Azerbaijan's Council of Ministers believes that the removal of these contradictions should first of all enhance the union republics' level of interest in deepening integration processes and in strengthening the economic ties that have formed among various regions of the country.

With the transition to financial autonomy, however, the situation should change radically, the head of Azerbaijan's government thinks. According to preliminary calculations, the income section of the republic's budget should increase by almost 60 percent. The largest part of this sum consists of tax from the turnover of finished produce manufactured from Azerbaijani raw materials.

The structure of the republic's national economy is also to be reviewed in order to increase the proportion of processing production facilities in it. This will make it possible to create additional workplaces in the republic with the surplus labor resources. Much is being done already: In rural areas branches of major industrial enterprises as well as enterprises to produce consumer goods are being set up. The head of government said that, in line with the republican program that has been drawn up, 150,000 new workplaces will be created before the end of 1990. But this isn't enough, Ayaz Mutalibov believes.

The most pressing task now is not to disrupt economic relations with the center and among the republics, but to strengthen them and make them more harmonious, the chairman of Azerbaijan's Council of Ministers stressed in conclusion.

Agricultural

Ligachev, Nikonov at Moscow Food Supply Meeting

LD1708232189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The state of and measures to improve the supply of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes for the 16 million inhabitants of the capital and the Moscow area were considered today at a conference at the Moscow City CPSU Committtee. The results of the conference were summed up by Comrade Ligachev. Comrades Nikonov and Vlasov and other senior workers of party, local soviet, and economic bodies took part in its work.

Nikonov, Central Committee Discuss Food Supplies

PM1808082589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Daily Monitoring of the Execution of Decisions"]

[Text] Progress in the implementation of party and government decisions on food supplies to the population by party, soviet, and economic organs in 29 of the country's cities and industrial centers was examined at the CPSU Central Committee 16 August.

The conference was chaired by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The state of affairs in all the cities and worker settlements whose party city committee [gorkom] first secretaries and chairmen of city soviets and oblast, kray, and republic agro-industrial committees had been invited to be present was discussed in a spirit of high party exactingness. Attention was drawn to the impermissibility of sluggishness in ensuring the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum's resolutions on the agrarian question. It is necessary to adopt effective measures to pool the financial and material resources of regions, the intellectual and industrial potential of cities, and the potential of collective farms, state farms, and peasant farms for the purpose of accelerating the development of the country's agro-industrial complex.

It is impossible to tolerate the fact that in a large number of places deeds diverge from words, and the results obtained fall far short of the promises and sundry assurances. It is impossible to achieve food sufficiency if capital investment funds allocated for the development of the processing industry are not assimilated, and one-fourth of the output produced by agriculture is wasted. Construction organizations fail to cope with state orders, and production collectives in industrial centers fail to fulfill programs for the manufacture of equipment for food industry enterprises and the outfitting of storage facilities.

The following spoke during the exchange of opinions on urgent questions concerning the supply of foodstuffs to the urban population: Krasnodar City Soviet Executive Committee Chairman V.A. Samoylenko; A.I. Logutov, first secretary of the Naberezhnyye Chelny party gorkom; V.Ya. Khmelnik, first secretary of the Odessa party gorkom; B.F. Satin, first secretary of the Tashkent party gorkom; V.G. Golovachev, first secretary of the Saratov party gorkom; N.A. Ivanov, first secretary of the Barnaul party gorkom; and others.

Party committees, soviet organs, and agro-industrial committees and associations were instructed to mobilize reserves and potential and to really change the situation in the food sphere for the better.

Taking part in the examination of food supply questions were I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; leaders of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food Supplies and Purchases; leaders of ministries and departments; and officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

Foreign Exchange Payments to Farmers OK'd

18240225 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 1

[Report on the USSR Council of Ministers decree on hard-currency payments for farm products: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Pursuant to a decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decree on incentives for the sale of high-quality wheat grain, pulse crops, and seeds of oil-bearing plants to the state in 1989 and 1990 by freeing up payments in hard currency due to reductions in the purchase of grain and foodstuffs abroad.

The decree provides for conducting in 1989 and 1990 an experiment on the sales of the grain of Durham (class) and strong wheat by farms to the state, on the basis of freely convertible currency, proceeding on the average from 60 rubles a ton, 40 rubles for the most valuable strains of this crop, 40 rubles for peas and lupine, and 90 rubles per ton of seeds of oil-bearing crops (sunflower, soybeans, rape, falseflax, and mustard).

These procedures may be used to sell the grain of Durham (class), strong, and the most valuable strains of wheat, provided they are sold to the state in excess of the average annual level of the 11th 5-Year Plan for grains as a whole; the grain of peas and lupine, provided it is sold to the state in excess of the average annual level attained in 1986 through 1988; and the seeds of sunflower, soybeans, rape, falseflax, and mustard, provided they are sold to the state in excess of the average annual level attained in 1986 through 1988 for oil-bearing crops as a whole.

The decree indicates that the payment of freely convertible currency for wheat grain is carried out in the event that the farm has ensured the production of grains as a whole in an amount not smaller than the average annual volume of production attained in the 11th 5-Year Plan, and for the grain of peas and lupine and the seeds of oil-bearing crops—not smaller than the average annual volume of production attained in 1986 through 1988 for the grain and seeds of oil-bearing crops as a whole respectively.

It is established that kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], and other agricultural enterprises will independently determine procedures for the sales of wheat, pea, and lupine grain and of the seeds of oil-bearing plants to the state (against freely convertible currency or at procurement prices taking into account the established bonuses to them).

Countersales of grist (oilcake) are not made against the seeds of oil-bearing crops sold to the state for freely convertible currency.

It is further envisaged that payments to the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises are made with the hard currency freed up due to reducing the purchases of grain, seeds of oil-bearing crops, and vegetable oil abroad—provided that the grain product production associations confirm that the additional amounts of grain and seeds of oil-bearing crops have been sold on the conditions specified in the present decree and meet the quality requirements in effect for their procurement for state reserves. The attained level of production for grains and seeds of oil-bearing crops is certified by the organs of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

The grain of wheat, peas, and lupine, and the seeds of oil-bearing crops procured through such procedures, are counted toward the fulfillment of the state order accepted by the enterprise under contract, as well as toward that of union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises fully control the freely convertible currency they receive for selling wheat, pea, and lupine grain, and the seeds of oil-bearing crops.

The decree entrusted to the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foodstuffs and Procurement, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR State Committee on Prices, and the USSR Ministry of Finance the determination of differentiated amounts of payments for the wheat grain based on its class and for oleaginous seeds based on the crop proceeding from the average cost of one ton of grain of Durham (class) and strong wheat and seeds of oil-bearing crops in freely convertible currency.

Hard-currency funds will be deposited in the accounts of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises for the grain of wheat, peas, and lupine, and seeds of oil-bearing crops sold to the state by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations at the request of the All-Union Foreign Economic Association "Eksportkhleb" of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (which is allocated hard-currency funds for purchasing grain and seeds of oil-bearing crops abroad) upon the completion of sales of these products by farms to state reserves.

It was requested that the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations, and the USSR State Committee for Statistics confirm procedures for reporting and settling for the high-quality grain of wheat, peas, and lupine, and seeds of oil-bearing crops paid for in freely convertible currency.

The task of studying the issue of procedures and conditions for incentives in freely convertible currency to the organizations of lessees, cooperatives of lease farms and

peasant farms ensuring the sale of high-quality wheat, peas, and lupine grain, and seeds of oil-bearing plants to the state, and of submitting relevant proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers if needed was assigned to the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foodstuffs and Procurement.

The decree entrusted to the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foodstuffs and Procurement—with the participation of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR State Committee on Prices, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR State Planning Committee, and the councils of ministers of union republics—the generalization of the results of the experiment on hard-currency incentives for the production and sale to the state of high-quality wheat, peas, and lupine grain, and seeds of oil-bearing crops with a view to reporting on the results to the Council of Ministers in the first quarter of 1991 and submitting relevant suggestions.

More on Rules for Paying Farmers

LD1608171189 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—"A decision to spend the currency it earns will be taken by a husbandry independently, proceeding from its vital needs," Mikhail Timoshishin, first deputy chairman of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on Food Products and Purchases, said in a TASS interview. He commented on the recent decision of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to stimulate by currency payments above-plan sales by husbandries of durum, strong and valuable varieties of wheat to the state.

To make the necessary purchases abroad on currency, earned from such transactions, it is noted in the interview, the husbandries will be able to apply for assistance to a corresponding foreign trading organisation of the Ministry of External Economic Relations. This will allow it to make purchases abroad on the most advantageous terms for them.

Explained in the interview are the reasons why the government's decision was taken. Mikhail Timoshishin said, specifically, that in the past three years the gross output of grain did not top that of the Tenth 5-Year Plan period. Its marketable value had dropped and amounted to only 31.5 percent in 1988. As compared to the average annual level of the Tenth 5-Year Plan period the crop areas of grain crops decreased last year by 13 million hectares, while the crop yields increased only by one centner a hectare. Purchases of grain decreased from 77.9 million tons in 1986 to 60.2 million tons last year.

Strong, durum and valuable varieties of wheat are used to produce a wide range of bakery and macaroni products. The flour industry of the country is experiencing an acute shortage of local wheat in recent years. Requirements of the macaroni industry in special grades of flour are met by only one third.

The existing level of grain purchasing prices creates a situation when husbandries are not interested in selling it to the state. In the light of this, it is very important to stimulate the production and purchases of grain.

Kazakh Draft Laws To Return Land to Peasants

PM1708103589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Correspondent V. Ardayev under the rubric "In Republics' Governments": "Land Is Being Returned to the Peasant"]

[Text] Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—Two new draft laws prepared by the republic's Council of Ministers and State Agro-Industrial Committee have been issued in their first edition in Kazakhstan. They are the drafts of the Law "On the Peasant Farm in the Kazakh SSR" and the decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Ownership of the Land and the Expansion of the Rights of Local Soviets of People's Deputies in Settling Land Relations."

These documents mutually substantiate, supplement, and develop each other. For instance, the new decree is extremely necessary, on the one hand, in connection with the republic's forthcoming transfer to regional economic accountability [khozraschet] and, on the other, to really ensure the development of various forms of economic management in the countryside. The two documents create a reliable legal and organizational basis for the local soviets and for lessees and peasant farms.

The draft decree stipulates that all land within the Kazakh SSR, whoever may be using it, is the exclusive property of the republic. The functions of ownership consisting of the right to possess and administer land are placed, on behalf of the Kazakh SSR, with the local soviets of people's deputies. They in turn can provide agricultural land for use or leasing by collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], and other cooperative and state agricultural enterprises, organizations, and institutions, and peasant farms.

The peasant farm, as the draft law indicates, is a small-scale agricultural enterprise in which production is based on the personal labor of the peasant (peasant family) and private ownership of the means of production and other property. These farms are created on a voluntary basis. They are granted the full right to determine independently the direction of their activity, the structure and volumes of production, and to raise, process, and sell output. The interference of state and other organs and officials in the activity of the peasant farm is forbidden.

The peasant farm itself and its property can be passed on to immediate heirs within the procedure established by law or can be bequeathed. In other words, land together with forests and internal water expanses will be granted for indefinite use.

For peasants managing their own farms, equal rights are guaranteed with workers in state and cooperative enterprises, including the right to social security. In particular, work on farms of this kind is calculated toward the overall uninterrupted work service and is certified by documents issued by the rural (village) soviet executive committees.

From the options submitted for new legislative acts, it can be seen that the prerequisites are being laid down for truly resolute changes to the existing socioeconomic and administrative nature of rural life. The land is being returned to the peasant and the right to administer the land is being returned to the soviets.

Although, in the opinion of some specialists and the peasants themselves, individual clauses still bear the imprint of timidity and excessive restriction. For instance, in accordance with the draft law, the peasant receives the land for indefinite use but does not become its owner. The state (in this case the republic in the shape of the local soviets), while being the landowner, could perfectly well hand over the land to the peasants for indefinite **possession and use**, merely retaining the function of administration. In that case the peasant would be the actual landowner deprived of only one right—selling his land holding. An extremely important element, because it characterizes not only the degree of trust and autonomy of the peasant, but also makes him really responsible for the land.

The rights of peasants who have decided to leave a collective farm and become individual farmers to receive plots of land in that farm's use are also formulated very vaguely. It is also hardly necessary to restrict the right of the individual peasant farmer to lease or sublease part of his land.

I think that in the process of working on the draft laws, much will be made more specific and taken into account. But it is very important that now that the documents in their first edition have been distributed for coordination with local soviets and ministries and departments, they should be protected from "cleansing" and correction from purely departmental and "ideological" positions.

Disbanding of Agro-industrial Committee Viewed

PM1608151089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 33, 13 Aug 89 p 5

[Aleksandr Bekker article: "Self-Preservation of the 'Apparat.' Whatever Happened to Agroprom?"]

[Text] Everyone knew it was coming. But still when the news about its closing down came, many people in the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom) were shocked. And some of the managers were even holding back tears.

Gosagroprom Yesterday

Fact. The system of the agro-industrial complex, with its crown—the central apparat—in Moscow, consisted of 110,000 enterprises, 40 million people, and a third of both the production funds and the country's national income.

Gosagroprom has been vilified of late just as much as it was praised four years ago, when it was set up. It is easy to cry "ogre" afterwards. Yes, two huge buildings—in the Orlikov Lane and on Prospekt Kalinina—both stuffed with nearly 4,600 employees. But then they didn't get together in secret—a decision was issued which amalgamated 6 departments at the agrarian profile. And at the time there wasn't a word of protest. The people worked—divided funds, travelled everywhere, wrote memos, introduced experiments, and gathered reports. The mountain gave birth not even to a mouse, but to an even bigger mountain of "in-out" documents.

Fact. The enterprises of Gosagroprom filled in 479 different forms which included 151,000 indices. Last year the USSR State Statistics Committee (Goskomstat) checked 103 enterprises and discovered 173 illegal report forms issued from above, which had 1.3 million indices per year.

Stagnation and a free-thinking apparat are incompatible. Gosagroprom was what it had to be in a barracks economy. The overall output grew unfeelingly due to command relations with the farms. Capital investments were "misplaced", the storages and processing enterprises turned out to be neglected. A quarter of what was grown and cared for in the fields perished. The people declared that there were less and less products. The outburst of dissatisfaction was predicted, but very few people predicted the radical decision of closing the department down.

Gosagroprom yesterday was the feverish work of people who came from the sticks, and the businesslike concern of the officials who received them.

Gosagroprom Today

Fact. 1,162 people left Gosagroprom in the four months since the publication of the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on its liquidation. 415 people were fired on the administration's initiative. 515 people were transferred to other departments. 232 people were pensioned off—109 of them at the age of 53 for women, and at the age of 58 for men.

A liquidation commission is a terrible sight. It is a commission which fires its own people. Unmarried mothers cry here, and personnel officer Vladimir G. keeps a box of pills on his desk for himself. Everybody categorically demands that their names not be mentioned.

It is impossible to find out in detail who went to work where. Some of the people insisted on keeping the addresses of their new jobs secret. It cannot be said that they were left in the lurch: "You got your liquidation benefit, so go and do what you like." The liquidation commission sits at the telephones, looking for vacancies. Requests for specialists come from the State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Labour and Social Issues and from the State Committee on Prices. I was told that when people were put into new jobs, no one was given preference, administration chiefs and technical personnel were on equal footing. I'm sure I was given false information. Social hierarchy operates like the laws of physics. A leader sits in conferences of highest rank dealing with production problems and speaks on the "hot line" with other ministries. Interests merge. The greater the number of contacts, the easier are the times of need.

Gosagroprom's last hour will come on November 1, but it is already clear today that even the privilege of retaining their apartments in Moscow, granted Agroprom workers who choose to work in the countryside, has not induced them to move to the provinces. If you are over 50, and there were a lot of such people, it is hard to break your usual life. Only a few people went to strengthen the countryside: Vladimir Solovyev, a chief specialist—as a state farm director in the Tula Region; Konstantin Bloshenko, a sector chief—as a specialist on fodder at a farm in the Moscow Region, and Sergey Mikhovich—to a state farm in Belorussia. Some people went to the Moscow meat-packing plant, the yeast plant, the Yava cigarette factory, the Ostankina dairy plant and the Khladoprodukt refrigeration plant. But mainly the apparat merely changed places.

"Reorganization is like a net—the small things fall through, and the big ones remain. The bosses found places for themselves no worse than their former ones, and we rank-and-file performers are out of work. The director of the All-Union Research-Design Institute of Milk alone is taking 180 leaders of the USSR Gosagroprom. What sort of scientists are they? What can they do? Without us, they can't fill in a form properly." (A group of Gosagroprom workers.)

I checked up on the letter. The rumours were "a bit exaggerated", as they say, because only three people were accepted at the institute. But the letter is full of examples of the unequal treatment, and it points out that the apparat did not go into production. The institutes of the Agricultural Academy gave jobs to 71 people, and 21 went to the research institutes of agricultural economics. And immediately Vasiliy Vershinin, a bad-tempered departmental chief, was ousted from his post, which was taken by Viktor Yurkin, a department head from Gosagroprom. The former is well known in the country as an expert on leasing, peasants' farms, and rural cooperatives. Yurkin has never dealt with these matters. But Yurkin didn't arrive empty-handed, but with a contract for 70,000 roubles. It was for a 2-year study of peasant farming, commissioned by the late Gosagroprom. He was not the only one to bring such a contract "for himself".

"I'm seriously afraid that the people we accepted will bring insignificant themes into our work and a bureaucratic spirit," said Academician Aleksandr Nikonov, President of the Agricultural Academy. "There is nothing more damaging than that for our agrarian science, which is already weak in theory."

The liquidation commission is continuing its work and the apparatus is finishing its work. Gosagroprom today is a nameless building (the sign has already been removed) in Orlikov Lane, guarded by an absent-minded militiaman. The lift has already been shut down for repairs.

Gosagroprom Tomorrow

"Drop your article, don't rub salt into people's wounds," Aleksandr Lyevlev, former first vice-chairman of Gosagroprom, appealed to me.

Why didn't I respond? If we're to keep silent, then the same thing will happen all over again. And that's painful. In the long run, it isn't the apparat that does harm, but the apparat which was given far-fetched functions which were beyond its competence.

Fact. According to the polls held by sociologists of the Economics Institute of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, on Siberian farms 61 percent of workers and collective farmers think that the leaders of collective and state farms have done nothing to improve labour organization, and in their turn 91 percent of directors and chairmen declared that they got orders from the district or the region with which they disagreed; from 67 to 83 percent of workers, specialists and administrators declared that they could have worked better in other conditions.

Until the "top" transforms its goals and methods, everything will get stuck at the "bottom". The manager cannot work more rationally unless the farmer is liberated. The farmer stimulates the official, the official serves the farmer. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has stuc .o that for 120 years and nobody thinks of changing it. Today, 1,789 people are left at Gosagroprom. As announced, Gosagroprom is to be replaced by the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Food and Procurement. It will have, as I managed to learn in advance, about 100-150 workers, plus 1,100-1,200 administrators to deal with pedigree cattle, land improvement and grain production. All told there will be about 1,500 vacancies—a number close to the number of "surviving" workers of Gosagroprom. It is too close to be a coincidence. Let us say that the skeleton of the future apparat exists and is waiting for signal to relocate.

What is the idea for the state commission? What is the pattern of the main administration and the principles of relations with departments and regions?

"All the questions should be put to the Council of Ministers," says Anatoliy Romanov, a participant in working out the idea of the state commission, an administration head at the USSR Agroprom. "I myself am sitting on pins waiting for a new job."

Viktor Akulinin, chief of the agro-industrial sector of the USSR Council of Ministers, was also very tense.

"It is too early as yet to discuss the pattern—it was prepared by one person but another one was assigned to implement it. And he is now studying it."

A month ago, Vladilen Nikitin did not know that he'd be chairman of the commission. He is now getting the feel of his new job. Let's ask ourselves the question—will we not get a smaller version of Gosagroprom with the old apparat? And, perhaps, everything will go the same way? The food crisis keeps the apparat of the Council of Ministers tense, every day feeling the "heavy breathing of the people". Problems will appear with the harvest. The state commission will be asked to find out how meat and milk are procured. The task will be approached with the arsenal of the age-old methods of work—telephone calls to the farms, questions and directives, memos and reports. How are the fine instruments of economic management to be built into the system of state requisitioning? Where can new methods come from?

A new motif is possible here: A number of republican agroproms will refuse to restore the vertical administrative-reporting link, which will make the work of the commission complicated. But, on the whole, the apparat will "feel at home" again. Retaining the age-old style, as the basis of operations, it will preserve itself in its old form.

The instinct of self-preservation is a normal attribute of live matter. But our apparat of management won't be able to prove that it belongs to highly-organized matter. That's why Gosagroprom tomorrow is a scary uncertainty.

10-17 Aug Agricultural Developments Reported
LD1808025389

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian from 10 to 17 August. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

10 August

In Tajikistan agricultural specialists from Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan have begun work in a mutual-checking delegation today. The fulfillment of the plan in the 4th year of the 5-year plan period adopted by the agro-industrial workers of the republic, primarily by cotton growers, is being checked. For them, this spring and summer were unprecedentedly difficult. Thousands of hectares of cotton plants had to be resown. (0800)

Harvesting cereals in Kabardino-Balkariya has ended. Approximately 100,000 tonnes of wheat have been delivered to elevators and grain reception centers. (0800)

The 500,000th tonne of grain of the new harvest will today be delivered to the reception points of the Tambovkhleboprodukt Production Association. More than half the plan for sales of grain for the oblast has been poured into state granaries. The grain is mainly of good quality. (1000)

Fodder procurement continues at republican farms. Third cuts of perennial grasses are in full swing. The harvest is pretty good, with each hectare giving 20 and more quintals of hay. The hay-mowing season is coming to an end in mountain meadows; 2,700,000 tonnes of coarse fodders have already been laid in for the winter for public livestock, 60 percent of the plan. In the last few days harvesting of corn for silage has begun. (1330)

11 August

In Saratov Oblast 1 million tonnes of grain have so far been laid in. Approximately half is strong and valuable wheat. (0204)

Belgorod Oblast: More rain has fallen in 2 days than is normal for the whole month. In an attempt to save the threshed bread grain, driers have been switched on at full power on all farms. The harvest is unusually good, though: almost 30 quintals per hectare on average across the oblast. More than 670,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to the reception points. (0400)

The collective and state farms of Rostov Oblast have sold 1.1 million tonnes of grain to the state and continue to sell bread grains produced above plan. (0600)

In the Ukraine frequent rain is hampering haymaking. Two-thirds of the planned amount of hay has been laid in, and about 90 percent of haylage. (0600)

The grain sales plan has been fulfilled earlier than usual in Bryansk Oblast; the 200,000th tonne of bread grain was delivered today. (0900)

12 August

Many state and collective farms of Omsk Oblast are delivering winter rye and wheat. They are being harvested this year on an area of 164,000 hectares. Farmers in Saratov Oblast have begun harvesting millet. It occupies approximately 500,000 hectares of farm land. The average yield is 20-25 quintals of grain per hectare. (1100)

13 August

In Ulyanovsk Oblast more than 200,000 tonnes of grain have been laid in. (0400)

In Khakassiya harvesting of winter bread grain has started in the south, with over 40 quintels per hectare of grain from early threshings. In Belgorod harvesting of groats began in the oblast today. Buckwheat and millet occupy around 45,000 hectares. (1300)

14 August

Hundreds of fodder procurement vehicles and grain and vegetable combines are standing idle in Kemerovo Oblast because of a fuel shortage in the Kuzbass. Supplies were interrupted in July and all rural oil depots have stopped filling freight vehicles with petrol. A TASS correspondent has learned that the RSFSR State Committee for Oil Products in Krasnoyarsk Kray and Irkutsk Oblast has failed to supply 108 tankers of petrol to the Kuzbass since the start of July. That is almost one-third of the planned amount. (1200)

15 August

Today the sowing of winter crops started i. Tambov Oblast on an area of more than 500,000 hectares. (0300)

The State Statistical Committee of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic today announced that 1.5 million hectares of grain crops were harvested in the republic last week. This means that the 6 millionth hectare is now being harvested, out of a total of 23.5 million hectares of grain crops. The drought has meant that the crops are undersized and sparse. (0900)

16 August

Kursk Oblast crop farmers are completing the harvest; 93,200 tonnes of grain have been delivered to the procurement points so far, which is more than the plan envisions. Above-plan deliveries of grain continue. (0400)

Farms in Ryazan, Non-Chernozem Zone have laid in 485,000 tonnes of bread grain; this is 90 percent of the state order. (0600)

Saratov Oblast farmers have already sold more than 1 million tonnes of grain to the state. Spring wheat is now being cut. Millet threshing is starting. It is sown on nearly 500,000 hectares in the oblast this year. (0900)

In the Altay, following harvesting of winter crops, harvesting of fodder grain crops has started. The harvesting of barley and oats started simultaneously both in the steppe and foothill areas of the kray. The earliest crop, winter rye, has been harvested from half the area. (0900)

17 August

No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

Ministry Views Space Program, Mars Mission

LD1808060389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer Yevgeniy Leonov] The Collegium of the Ministry of General Machine Building today discussed in Moscow the Soviet Space program up to the year 2005. Taking part in its work was our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich, who has just taken his seat next to me at the microphone. Go ahead, Leonid.

[Lazarevich] This is the first time, I think, that journalists have attended a collegium of this ministry, the work of which, as you know, has been shrouded in secrecy, and very serious secrecy at that. Well, even if journalists did attend, they kept silent about it on the air and in the papers.

[Leonov] Well, as it can now be told, tell us about it.

[Lazarevich] We [journalists] were invited; and they had also invited representatives of the departments they work with, and representatives of the research institutes. They discussed long-term, very long-term, prospects. Minister Oleg Nikolayevich Shishkin told his colleagues at once that he was asking them to criticize the proposed program, and to seriously criticize it. It was not the aim of this meeting to make any final decisions.

[Leonov] What was its aim, then?

[Lazarevich] The aim was to discuss, to give each other food for thought. It is very nice that they decided to do that in the presence of the press, and with its help to involve the broadest scientific public in the work that has begun.

[Leonov] That, it seems to me, is real glasnost.

[Lazarevich] Yes, I think it really does signify a new approach. I am sure that this program, which is only just being born, will not be subjected to the sort of criticism that has been levelled at the one that is now being implemented. Well, you know, a great many projects are being proposed, though the allocations for space research are being somewhat reduced. There are many interesting studies planned for the next 15 years. I would divide them into three main groups, as was done, indeed, at the collegium: Space research in the interests of the national economy; research in the interests of science; and manned flights, which, as you realize, will serve both science and the economy at once. I want to draw your attention to the fact that in these 15 years it is planned to carry out a consistent study of Mars with several manned, rather, several unmanned expeditions, including an attempt to take a rock sample and bring it back, and to send a Mars vehicle [marsokhod] to Mars.

[Leonov] Well, is there a need for such an expedition to be mounted at the present time?

[Lazarevich] Well, yes, of course there is a need. We must study Mars, because in studying Mars we study the Earth. We study the planets, and we can then predict the future of our Earth, once we know the whole solar system. Well, the remote aim of all these fights is, as has been said, a manned flight to Mars itself. It is planned to carry out such a flight in the years 2015-2017. I do have to say, however, that the very idea of that flight was criticized by some people at the collegium, who asked what the manned flight to the moon actually gave to science, what results did it achieve? Yes, man set foot. Yes, the political effect was of the highest order; the interest was enormous. What did pure science get out of it? Pure science got nothing, as it turns out. Well, that is a long-range prospect, so we will not talk about it. Speaking more generally, you know, the collegium was marked by a constructive approach. I liked the fact that it was bluntly stated that the only projects that will go ahead are those that are socially valuable and have public support. The Ministry of General Machine Building expressed willingness to renounce, voluntarily, the diktat of the producer and give up its own monopoly. Its leaders said they will carry out the commissions of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences, and of the academy itself, but that the allocations for those projects must be obtained by the academy.

[Leonov] Well, that seems right, does it not?

[Lazarevich] Yes, of course. That is as it should be, now. No decisions were made by the collegium today, but it seems to me that a very important step has been taken in the quest for new paths that will enable our space science to enter a new spiral of development.

[Leonov] Thank you, Leonid. Thank you for an interesting discussion.

Roundtable Discussion on Soviet Space Exploration

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[Roundtable feature: "What Stars Are We Bound For? Some Controversial Reflections on Space Exploration"]

[Text] Ever since the times of the first Sputnik we have become used to believing that our country is in the vanguard of space exploration. We have always taken pride in our achievements in this field, and cosmonauts have invariably been honoured as national heroes.

And all of a sudden critical voices are heard. "We don't need space, there are enough earthly worries here"—this idea started being asserted in public awareness. "Non-acceptance" of space research entered many electoral programmes; nor was there a shortage of such pronouncements at the recent Congress of People's Deputies.

The challenging problems of modern cosmonautics are discussed at an MN [MOSCOW NEWS] roundtable by Academician Roald Sagdeyev, people's deputy of the USSR, Konstantin Feoktistov, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR, D. Sc. (Engineering), and Yaroslav Golovanov, a writer and "space" journalist. The anchorman is Leonard Nikishin, editor of the MN science department.

Diagnosis: Space Allergy

L.N.: Where do these extreme views come from—the total, angry denial of the need for "useless" spending on space? I believe that, not least of all, this is a consequence of well-nigh universal irritation over the hullabaloo of many years about our "space victories." But people lived in a different world. They were short of too many good things of life to take these victories close to heart.

Today parades of cosmonautics, like many other solemn rituals meant to glorify "developed socialism", are things of the past. What, then, is our strategy for the mastering of space?

K.F.: Opinions can vary on this score. Personally I am convinced, for instance, that we do not have, and never had, a strategic line; although nothing is being done in this country without plans and programmes, the general principles of state policy in this sphere have never been clearly designated. Wherever the possibility to derive some benefit appeared, it was taken. Numerous practical space systems were set up—for instance, communication, navigational, meteorological, etc. But penetration into space gives us a unique possibility to obtain new information about the universe, to somehow "glue together" the scattered notions about the nature of the world we live in. For the time being it has remained fantastically incomprehensible for us. As I see it, this should become the main strategic line of research. Yet the efforts made here are totally insignificant.

R.S.: In general, I agree with the aforesaid that, speaking seriously, we have no strategic line in the exploration of space. We merely claimed to have a line.

Now that we say that the market should be the main regulator of the economy, the same is also essential for the space programme. There are, for example, many organizations with a stake in expanding the services of space communication, the use of TV and telephone channels or digital channels for computer networks. The pace of progress must be dictated by requirements.

The same applies to research programmes. But science has already long since been sacrificed to the same claim to the existence of a strategic line. Each time scientists say: "We need a specialized satellite which will take us to the forefront of astrophysical research," they are told in reply: "Strategy now calls for the development of certain unique space technology. Wait a little, it will be created and you will fly on it." As a result, our hopes are dashed. And I agree that society has been gripped with irritation, a kind of "allergy" to the endless flow of space launches

from Soviet launching sites. Their number is at least five times that in the rest of the world. This cannot be said about the results of space exploration—they are most modest than in the U.S.A.

I believe that during the years that have elapsed, the "Korolev pleiad" of designers and theoreticians has been replaced with people who were mainly promoted along party, trade union and administrative lines. Now it's up to them to adopt cardinal decisions. What strategic line do you want from them?

Ya.G.: Quite correct. May no one take offence, but Sergey Korolev himself and the general designer's closest advisers, known as the "Korolev guard", were space fanatics. Their attitude towards work, incidentally, was determined not by their age—there were people in their sixties and 25-year-olds among them—but by creative fervour. Today, regretfully, there aren't many of them; our esteemed co-participant in this exchange, Konstantin Feoktistov, is one of them. It is hard for them to shape the direction of space research, because creative endeavour poorly "survives" in a bureaucratic atmosphere.

Buran in the Budget

L.N.: Today experts have to prove space travel's right to existence. Of course, no one doubts the need for space communication, for one. What is at issue is different—the programme's being balanced and consistent with the country's capabilities and requirements. After all, even here we are carried away by ambitious projects. Why, for example, has the bulky and costly Energiya-Buran system been developed? So as not to "lag behind" the Americans who, incidentally, have already realized their miscalculations with the shuttles?

K.F.: In this context I wold like to return to what Roald Sagdeyev has just said. I agree with what he said about the "Korolev pleiad" having been replaced. But officials' ambitions are mainly aimed at getting another position, and a higher one at that. This is where we come to the question: Why was it necessary to develop the Energiya-Buran system? At first glance, it is a perfect riddle. Did we want to imitate the American shuttle? But, let us recall why the shuttle was developed: in order to have a cheap carrier vehicle to orbit the earth. As we all know, the Americans failed to achieve this. Now let us take a look at Buran. According to my estimates, it will be from 20 to 40 times more expensive to lift cargoes into orbit with its help than with the use of the existing Soyuz and Proton one-launch carrier rockets, which are dependable and have long been in operation. Even delivering cargoes to orbital stations will be from 10 to 40 times more expensive than with the help of the existing Progress ships.

The Proton rocket puts 20 tons into orbit. Buran will lift the same class of cargoes. Have we developed it to make their delivery to space even more costly? You may object that with the help of Buran it is possible to return cargoes from orbit. For instance, a very expensive space module has been disabled, so we approach it in Buran, put it in the cargo compartment and—back to Earth for maintenance and repairs. The whole point is, however, that any, even the most sophisticated space craft is far cheaper than one flight of Buran.

R.S.: Let me carry on your thought. At the moment when the decision was taken (at the highest level) on developing the Energiya-Buran system, it was assumed that there was no real advantage, but that the crafty Americans surely had something up their sleeve in developing their shuttles. In short, we followed the path of the long established stereotype—a symmetrical reply. Incidentally, when the question of SDI was being decided, some of the people who passed a decision on Buran even in this case favoured a symmetrical reply. Fortunately, the times have changed and, thanks to the new political leadership and the stronger voice of scientists and technologists, our country for the first time refused to follow the path of this cut and dried stereotype.

Even today Buran consumes the lion's share of expenses in the space budget. True, this is the latest word in technology, a mass of solutions on the brink of fantasy—I think that Kontantin Feoktistov will agree with me...

K.F.: Of course, I won't.

R.S.: I shan't insist, but it seems to me that even the crudest economic estimates of necessary missions give an unambiguous answer. I am all in favour of disposable syringes and against reusable Buran.

K.F.: Who would be opposed to a reusable system if it were cheaper? But it has been impossible to solve the problem of developing a cheap vehicle for delivering cargoes to space with those unfortunate technical solutions which were made in the shuttle and Buran. Nevertheless, we have stubbornly continued spending money on this hopeless affair.

L.N.: However, the Energiya rocket can also be used without Buran—as a means of delivering cargoes of up to 100 tons to orbit. True, I can't imagine what kind of cargoes it will have to lift.

K.F.: It is not in doubt that Energiya is a definite technical breakthrough. But, indeed, there is no project that would really fit it.

R.S.: It appeared too early for today and too late—that's the paradox—for the mission which was on the agenda two decades ago—manned flight to the moon. In effect, it is a carrier of the same class as the American Saturn 5, developed in those years. Upon completing the Apollo programme, the Americans discontinued the production of these rockets since they had found no corresponding payloads for them.

Mismanagement

Ya. G.: I believe that the participants in this exchange are agreed that we have no strategic line in the exploration of outer space. It seems to me that there is not even any tactical line either. From time to time, the engineers developing space equipment, space medics, astrophysicists, and so on, have some very sound and interesting proposals to make, which are usually implemented in accordance with their authors' level of activity and prestige. Only by stretching one's imagination can we attribute the formulation of the tactics of space research to them. As I see it, space travel today is in no way different from other sectors of the economy in the sense of having very low returns. Now they say that nearly a half of our crops rot before they reach the consumer. Such is also the case with the "space harvest"—for the most part it doesn't reach the consumer.

L.N.: A. Pokrovskiy recently wrote in PRAVDA about "mountains" of unused space information.

Ya.G.: I remember cosmonaut Georgiy Grechko telling me: He brought a whole pile of photos back from orbit, and then they lay for three years without being analyzed. I agree with Roald Sagdeyev that the efficiency of the space programme is the most important thing today. A lot of money has been spent on Buran—so let's start "milking" it, so to speak. But this is something we can't do. The crisis-like situation has already reached a point where our excellent orbital station Mir—this is already the third generation—is flying empty. Isn't this a fact of glaring mismanagement?

L.N.: Incidentally, the programme for the use of orbital stations was loudly announced by Brezhnev in 1969. At that time he had to "save face", so to speak: The myth cultivated about our superiority in space had been shaken after the Americans' landing on the moon. But what did the country's economy get as a result of this programme? In general, as the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation was recently asked: Where had the people's money gone?

K.F.: Let us take a look. During the 30 years of manned flights—from Gagarin's Vostok to Mir—we have spent about six billion roubles on them. This is roughly one rouble a year for each Soviet man and woman. Of course, the spending is big, but it stands no comparison with that of the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation. And the second distinction from this ministry is that no direct harm has been done—on the contrary, we have achieved something. There is still the possibility that space production may prove to be expedient. But doubtlessly, the efficiency in utilizing orbital stations is very low. What is the matter here? You know, I would put it this way: The whole point is in the "squiggle". In a very ordinary "squiggle" that we put in the book of accounts. After all, how do we understand the task of creating an orbital station? Naturally, we must build and launch it. All the rest is no more than trifles. This is where problems start "splashing out". The station must be fitted out with research equipment—diverse and of high quality. But, as a rule, it is created on the "residual principle", with little time left for polishing it, as deadlines make it a crash programme. A station has been launched, cosmonauts have arrived at it, and everyone is very pleased, while hardly anyone is concerned over the way the apparatus functions there. But this, in effect, is the most important thing.

R.S.: This is generally one of the sorest issues. When space equipment is controlled by bureaucrats, the most important thing for them is yet another "historic" launcing. Hence the public's negative reaction. The point of view, raised by Boris Yeltsin, for example, is that all these works must be urgently discontinued. In many respects Yeltsin is right, and yet I am happy that his proposal to freeze the space programme for five to seven years has not been accepted.

Ya.G.: Pay attention to this—at the Congress of People's Deputies the space programme was not at all defended by space specialists. It was Gavriil Popov, an economist.

R.S.: The very first statement at the congress in defence of space travel was by A. Neumyvakin, chairman of the All-Russia Society of the Blind. Better than anyone with eyes to see, he saw that the space programme must not be closed down, that other approaches had to be found. An imperative of the time is the expansion of international space cooperation. But this mustn't develop into activities of the "Hey, let me give you a lift" type—on a Russian "space troika" and for hard cash. Incidentally, Brezhnev did this gratis: Big-hearted, as he was, he was fond of making generous gifts. But now the same "guest" sports are sold. But what does this kind of commerce give our space programme?

Will a Japanese Journalist Become a Hero of the Soviet Union

Ya.G.: I believe that what once happened to Alaska is now happening to the agreement on sending a Japanese journalist to space. Last century Russia sold Alaska to the Americans for a mere song. The latter more than made back their money. I am all for the flight of a Soviet, not a Japanese journalist. We could give broad advertising to Soviet space travel and show what it gives our country and the rest of the world. It is ridiculous if this is done by a Japanese first.

K.F.: I can't agree. After all, until now it is propaganda that has been Soviet cosmonauts' main occupation. I see no reasons why the situation should not be capitalized upon for commercial activities. This implies no infringement either on our national feeling or on those of journalists.

L.N.: Is it true that various newspapers are already receiving letters with a question: Will the Japanese be honoured with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union?

R.S.: To this I can reply that many cosmonauts, Heroes of the Soviet Union, have subsequently become nearly professional journalists. And once we have started speaking about mass media, let me say that negative, "anti-space" feelings have arisen also because the public at large knew too little about the space programme. On every satellite launched in our country—of the Cosmos series, for example—was this label: for continuing the exploration of outer space. How many times was I asked to explain why another Cosmos, the total number of which has topped 2,000, had been launched. Now that the space budget has been made public and we know that about seven billion roubles are annually spent for these purposes, I can say that a mere 1 percent of this sum goes for "strictly" scientific research. But after all, literally everything—R & D, national economic and defence programmes—used to be written off to science. In the eyes of ordinary people it has turned into a devourer of incalculable sums. One percent—just think of it.

Now I would also like to mention the following. Of course, in space travel there have been mistakes and major breakdowns, though not on the scale of Chernobyl. But the people still know practically nothing about them, and who was punished and how. Moreover, people who were guilty of these failures were later promoted in their line of service.

L.N.: One percent is an amazing figure. Maybe this is the reason why scientists sought primarily to implement the most prestigious projects, to study Venus and Mars? Although, it must be said, the Americans have outstripped us here—their interplanetary stations have explored nearly all the planets in the solar system. But the most dramatic is our lag in space research from the near-Earth orbit in the infrared, ultraviolet, X-ray and gamma wave band. Maybe it's about time to shift the emphasis?

R.S.: You are mistaken. Much is being done today in this respect. By way of example, I can mention the international astrophysical observatory on the Mir orbital station. Among other things, it has the most sophisticated telescope requiring extremely delicate treatment, turning the station and maintaining accurate orientation. This is a matter of pride both for scientists from the Institute of Space Research and for the creators of the station from the Energiya scientific production association. Scientists generally pin great hopes on the Mir station: Much could be done on it—much more than is being done now. But for this there is a need to define its strategic objectives in league with consumers.

Research studies have also been carried out with the use of apparatus working in the millimetre band. One project was to compile a temperature chart of the universe. Today we are preparing for work with infrared equipment.

SDI-Mad Wisdom

L.N.: Well, if we estimate how much the Americans spend on SDI and how much on strictly scientific space research, the picture probably will be equally unattractive.

K.F.: Once we touched upon SDI, I want to say that this is a dangerous situation, of course. Billions upon billions are being spent in the U.S.A. on goodness knows what. Some weaponry will certainly appear as a result—but definitely not of the kind they hope to get. Yet I am sure that the overall effectiveness of the spending on this program will prove to be very low.

L.N.: Today much noise has been raised in the U.S.A. around small interceptor satellites developed in the SDI framework—the "brilliant pebbles", as they have come to be known. They say that with them, SDI allegedly passes from fantasy to reality.

K.F.: This is the mouse which has been born of the SDI elephant. We see that irrational decisions are possible in the U.S.A. as well. When the decision on SDI was taken, they failed to carry out elementary calculations which could clearly show that this was a monstrously absurd project that could not be carried into effect. Everything ended up with a primitive system of orbit-based rocket projectiles, which cannot secure 100 percent interception of ballistic missiles. And these projectiles certainly do not justify the immense expenditures.

R.S.: I think that the architects of SDI are now putting a good face on a patently bad matter.

K.F.: It may be that the Americans received some distorted information that we were going to do something similar, that they took someone's irresponsible talk at face value...

Ya.G.: I think that the SDI ideologues have a poor understanding about human history. For every defensive weapon there has always been found an offensive weapon which rendered the former meaningless.

But we must be realists. Thousands of people are employed in the military industry, both in the U.S.A. and in the USSR. To bring military production suddenly to a halt means to make them unemployed. In the Soviet Union we have proclaimed the idea of conversion, which can fulfill two tasks: arrest the arms race and speed up the production of goods in short supply. People in this country and in the U.S.A. have criticized the project of a joint Soviet-American flight to Mars. And yet the orders on such a challenging project could well serve as a substitute for military orders. And again two problems would be tackled: lessening arms production and giving a powerful impetus to scientific research. Moreover: Both personnel and the advanced industrial organization will be kept intact.

From State Secrecy to State Discussion

R.S.: I can't express any optimism over the prospects of our space programme because the choice of objectives, as we have said, is in the hands of bureaucrats. But they

are primarily interested in victory and glory. This, incidentally, is happening not only in space travel. I am not at all surprised when reports appear to the effect that we have nearly mastered the mass production of supercomputers and the like.

Ya.G.: Along the same lines are stories of the so-called side effects. It has been alleged that we have already received a lot, that a river of gold is flowing thanks to the application of the space programme's technological breakthroughs in the national economy.

K.F.: Yes, that river is really flooding us... I don't remember a single rouble obtained through the application, say, of Buran technology in the economy. I think no one has received anything.

R.S.: The last refuge of windowdressers. The propagandists of SDI in America employ the same device: a lot of applications, a dentist's laser drill, and so on.

K.F.: I think that when there is no direct effect, they start speaking about something indirect. It is the litmus paper test.

L.N.: It is obvious that we need a reasonable and balanced space programme. The participants in today's talk at the MN roundtable are unanimous on this question, as in their belief that the programme we have today is a far cry from this. But it can be modified in the right direction only by passing through the crucible of public discussion, its examination and approval by the USSR Supreme Soviet. And it needs no secrecy, with the exception of spheres where this is dictated by obvious necessity. But even for this eventuality the Supreme Soviet can make provision for the procedure of closed hearings.

Editors' Note. In publishing the materials of this meeting we understand that the views of its participants voiced in the course of the discussion may give rise to objections. But hardly anyone will deny that a heart-to-heart talk like this has long been overdue. We hope to return to the space theme and look forward to concerned responses from scientists, experts and the public generally.

Icebreaker Leaves for Antarctic Expedition

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[Text] Leningrad August 12 TASS—The Soviet icebreaker type ship "Academician Fedorov" left Leningrad today for its long voyage to the Antarctic. It will be the flagman of a new international Antarctic expedition to study a mysterious patch of open water in the Weddell Sea. The expedition includes oceanologists, hydrographers, meteorologists, hydrochemists, biologists and other transpolar explorers from the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States and West Germany.

The "Polarstern" icebreaker flying the West German flag is leaving the Bremerhaven port soon to join the Academician Fedorov in the Weddell Sea. Both vessels will cross the sea four times in September and October. The international expedition plans to study natural processes in the atmosphere, the sea and on the ice cover.

The Academician Fedorov team is headed by young oceanologist Nikolay Bagryantsev, who worked on the expedition's plan jointly with his foreign colleagues for two years.

The Soviet vessel will also deliver about one hundred tonnes of building constructions to the Bellingshausen station, the Waterloo Island, to renovate the Soviet scientific centre. It is also carrying a cargo for the Polish station Arztowskij and a new group of Polish explorers.

The Academician Fedorov has two Mi-8 helicopters aboard for scientific research and cargo operations.